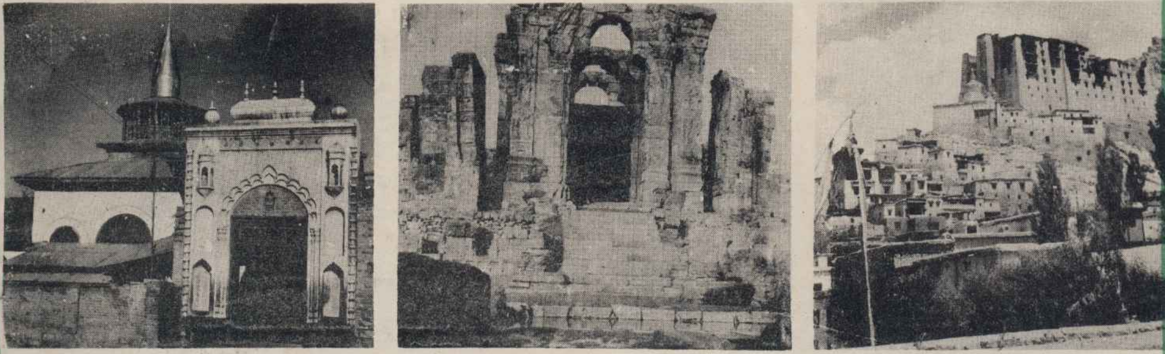
JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE

RESEARCH BIANNUAL



Editor: DR. S. M. IQBAL

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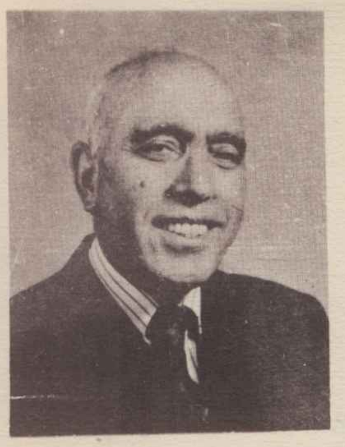


CHIEF MINISTER
JAMMU AND KASHMIR

NO: CMS/Genl-7/76

Srinagar,
Sept: 4 1976.

Dear Doctor Iqbal,

I have just received your letter of August 21,1976, along with the first issue of the J & K Research Biannual published by the Directorate of Libraries. Though a maiden venture it is a good attempt at that. The get-up is quite impressive and the journal has a varied fare to offer. I hope you will not only maintain this standard but further improve it.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(S.M. Abdullah)

Dr. Sheikh Mohd Iqbal,
Director of Libraries, Research
& Museums, **Srinagar.**

20 Jawahar Nagar,
Srinagar, Kashmir.

My dear Sheikh Saheb,

The Jammu and Kashmir State has a rich cultural past but much of it is unknown and whatever has been discovered by the painstaking work of research and antiquarian scholars is hardly available to the common educated men and women. The articles published in the Biannual, I am sure, will prove helpful to those in quest of knowledge. I trust that the coming issues of the journal will not only keep up the standard and quality of the contents but also be of higher order and deal with varied subjects touching our vast cultural achievements.

As you have rightly stated, "nothing represents the subtle values of Kashmir culture so succinctly as her magnificent monuments, sculptures, paintings, manuscripts, numismatics etc...(they) mirror the aspirations of our thinkers, the vision of our seers, the charm and beauty of our way of life and, in a word, express the soul of Kashmir in a delectable manner." If in the publication of the Biannual you and your colleagues keep this axiom in view I think a great service would have been rendered to the State people and the world at large.

Research of our past is a work very dear to my heart and it depresses me to know that very little, almost nothing, has been done in this sphere after liberation from foreign rule. It stays where Dogra Maharajas had left it. I am, however, very hopeful that under the supervision of a scholar like yourself this work will restart in right earnest and we shall be able to ascertain the progress through the pages of the Biannual. I hope every new issue will increasingly enlighten us and raise our hopes that something substantial is being done in digging and discovering our glorious past.

Meanwhile, I congratulate you on the publication of such a sorely-needed journal.

Yours Sincerely,

Sd/- Prem Nath Bazaz

PUNJAB AGRICULTURAL UNIVERSITY
CHANDIGARH

No. VC/76: 2599
Dated: 26 August, 1976.

Dr. M. S. Randhawa
D.Sc., F.N.I.,I.C.S.

Dear Dr. Iqbal,

I am glad to receive a copy of the *J&K Research Biannual* No. 1, Vol 1. It is a worthy effort and would encourage scholarship in Jammu and Kashmir. Please see that this journal is published regularly.

I like your article on the 'Advent of Islam in Kashmir' It is very informative and has some new information.

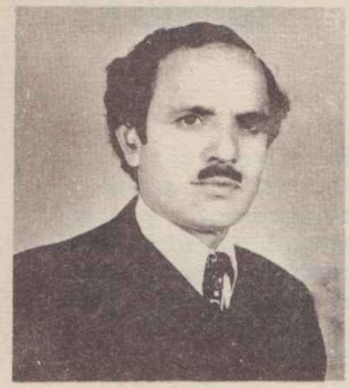
With regards.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. M.S. Randhawa

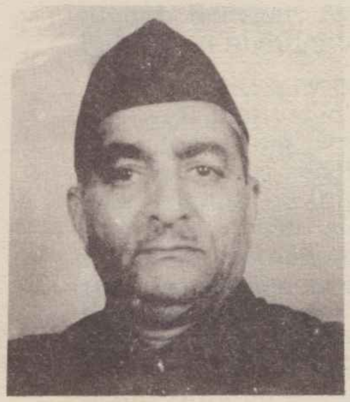
Dr. Sheikh M.S. Iqbal
Director of Libraries, Research & Museums
J & K Sringar.

SOME CONTRIBUTORS



Dr. Sheikh Mohd Iqbal, Director ***Libraries,*** *Research, Museums, Archaeology* ***and Antiquities.***

Prof. P. N. Pushp.



B. P. Sharma.

Prof. Ghulam Mohammad

Dr. R. K. Kaw.

Mr. K. **WARIKOO,**

Editorial

I

It is a matter of great pleasure to present to our esteemed readers the Second issue of the Biannual. Already, we were happy to note that its first issue was a real success. The recipients of the Journal, may have found some deficiencies in it, yet it was heartening to have rich comments from some of the dignitaries and distinguished experts. Among those from whom the Editor received appreciation and applause are Jenab Sheikh Sahib, Sardar Rangil Singh, Mr. M. S. Quraishi, Dr. M. S. Randhawa, Dr. Grace Morley and Pt. Prem Nath Bazaz.

The contents of the present issue, I hope, will be found more useful, impressive and knowledgeable. In particular, some of the writings will prove inspiring to scholars and readers. The Directorate is pleased to include a survey-note on the Art Treasures in Ladakh. To this an article "What They Saw and Wrote" has also been added. Moreover, the forgotten chapters of our history, such as the Rulers of Kishtwar and the Role of Sheikh Sodagar, *Madar-ul-Maham* of Maharaja Gulab Singh have been highlighted.

Solid literary contributions through patient, well-planned and well-motivated Research, has been more or less unknown to us for a long period. Research as a free art imposes certain obligations on scholars both the present and the prospective. They should be impartial, constructive, uninstructed and enlightened. Then alone can we save historical facts from intolerable distortions encouraged by half-hearted writers. If this proposition were accepted as a fundamental necessity for writing history and if it were to find approval with the concerned, the Editor's responsibility for bringing out thought-provoking material becomes limited. This would result in resurgence through research in the realms of literature.

II

In the period between the first issue and the present one, important events and developments took place connected with this Directorate. Firstly, the influx of the Foreign and indigenous researchers and senior scholars who came to visit us for consultation of the wealth of material in the Museum and the Research Library. The list of the beneficiaries of the collections will be found in the appendices. In particular, Dr. Walter M. Spink of Michigan University and his students and Dr. Oskar V. Hinuber of Mainz University (West Germany) and many others sedulously worked on the manuscripts and relevant materials.

Secondly, Dr. Mahinder Singh Randhawa submitted his valuable report and recommendations for the improvement and the re-organisation of this multi-winged Department. The Committee which Dr. Randhawa headed had been constituted in

July 1975 on the suggestion of the Director. It is hoped that the recommendations will be implemented in public interest and for the best of the Directorate and its wings and the staff of each.

Thirdly, the first issue of this Biannual was released by the Minister of State for Education on July 12, 1976, at the Tagore Hall. The audience was also addressed by Kashmir's reputed writer-journalist, Pt. Prem Nath Bazaz. The welcome address read by the Director appears at the end of this issue. It is gratifying to note that almost all the copies of the first issue were distributed in the State and outside of it. Copies were carried by the Western Scholars to Holland, West Germany and America. The participants in the U. S. Library of the Congress Programme must have got their copies as well.

Fourthly, we received this summer, Dr. Grace Morley and Mr. Joseph Stein who were invited by the State Govt. to advise on the location and accommodation of the S. P. S. Museum. They have submitted detailed report to the authorities and it is hoped that the Museum and its Manuscript section will be housed together in a safer and newly constructed building. The said experts have favoured the view that the Museum collections and the Research Library (with its manuscripts) should be kept within the same complex as they form a unity.

Fifthly, one of the outstanding events in the history of this Directorate was the hosting of the 23rd Library Conference at Srinagar (October 6 to 11, 1976). Mr. D. R. Kalia (President) and Mr. O.P. Trika (Secretary) of ILA personally requested the Director to accept the Convenorship of the Conference as the Kashmir University could not shoulder the responsibilities of holding the Conference. Sardar Rangil Singh, Minister of State for Education played a vital role in having the Conference convened in Srinagar. He insisted that the Director should undertake the mission. As Convenor, the Director burnt his midnight oil tackled problems of correspondence, publicity accommodation, inauguration and the rest. About seven hundred delegates including the wives of many of them attended the Inaugural Session. The Conference was inaugurated by Mr. L. K. Jha, presided over by Chief Justice Ansari and addressed also by Jenab Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. Mir Ghulam Nabi Kochak functioned as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Kochak, Mr. Kalia and Mr. Trikha and many others unequivocally called the Conference a great success and most successful of all Conferences held since 1934. Thus did the Director, his officers and the staff, Mr. Sharma of Jammu University library and Prof. Nurul Hassan of Kashmir University, so distinctly serve the cause of Library movement and library organisations. The Governor's vote of thanks is included in the Appendices.

Sixthly, in Jammu, the proposal that the Dogra Art Gallery be shifted to the Pink Hall at Old Palace has been revived. In pursuance of the Chief Minister's desire, the Director, met the Superintending Engineer and others on November 11, 1976 to expedite work of renovation. Dr. M. S. Randhawa, during his visit to Jammu in April, 1976, had suggested that a separate and well-designed building be raised on the site just opposite to the Cultural Academy Building.

III

As for the Directorate, it has been showing progress on all planes. Stock-taking was accomplished at the Dogra Art Gallery last year. In S.P.S. Museum it will take some time to examine and record the collections in a most proper manner. It is possible that a New Guide of the Museum collections will be brought out while the old one compiled by Pt. Ram Chandra Kak in 1922, has been reprinted under the orders of the Director.

The number of Libraries and Lending Depots is on its increase. Youngmen of merit are being appointed to the new posts in Libraries.

Official and supervision tours were conducted by the Director and his officers to promote fruitful activities relevant to the programmes of the Directorate. In this respect, the tour of Ladakh will remain an unforgetful chapter in the history of this Department. The process of Registering Antiquities is in progress and quite recently did the Director with his Registering Officer discuss matters of interest and import with the Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India and other officer at New Delhi.

From 27th to 30th November, 1976, the Director and his team toured the District of Doda. The purpose was to inspect Libraries, to make historical investigations, to find out antiquities and to take photographs of important monuments and historical sites. The information gained was rich and experiences quite rewarding. It is probable that a detailed report of the area will appear in the third issue of the Research Biannual.

In brief, the overall picture is bright and it is hoped that the authorities and offices above, will provide means to enable this Directorate to carry on its mission of enlightenment and culture.

In the end, the Editor deeply thanks all those dignitaries who were and continue to be a source of encouragement and inspiration to him,. He stands indebted to contributors of the present issue who increased the richness of these pages. In particular he appreciates the valuable performance of Mr. Prem Saraf, Asstt. Director, who being adept in his profession, has added to the elegance of this Journal. Thanks are also due to the Controller of Stationery and Printing, Mr. Sharma and Mr. Dhar and the rest of the staff of Government Press for their whole-hearted cooperation in bringing out the present issue with remarkable patience and attention.

Compendium of Pratyabhijna Philosophy of Kashmir

Dr. R. K. Kaw

Every soul is a hero in this divine drama of Siva and has to reach the conclusion of this drama by shaking off his self-imagined ignorance and by realising his nature.

Certain controversial view-points have been raised by some of the earlier students who do not seem to have noticed clearly the fundamental principles of the system. It is sought, in this paper, to clear off these points, and to trace in brief the specific doctrines of the system in which it differs, from the other systems of Vedanta.

Controversial View-points:—The first controversial view-point is regarding the name of the system. Some scholars do not seem to differentiate the Pratyabhijna from the *Trika* and prefer to call the philosophical system by the latter name. J. C. Chatterji observes, 'On the *Trika* there were many treatises each of which was called a Sastra, *but* these works do not represent so many different systems but only treatises on the various aspects of the same system of thought'.[1] K. C. Pandey states, 'It is a misnomer to call this system of philosophy "Pratyabhijna" or "*Spanda*" as much as it would be to call India "Calcutta" or "Bombay."'[2] Kurt F. Leidecker also notes, '*Trika, the Spanda and* Pratyabhijna are the designations of one and the same system and that distinction made by Dr. Buhler between the *Spanda* and the *Pratyabhijna* is erroneous'.[3] These scholars seem not only to be incorrect to suppose that *Trika, Spanda* and *Pratyabhijna* represent one and the same system, but have also failed to notice that Pratyabhijna is the only 'philosophy proper of the *Trika*'.[4] Metaphysical reasoning is the essence of a philosophical system. It is to this philosophical content of the system that Utpaladeva gives predominance in his whole work *(Pratyabhijna Karika)*, relegating to a subordinate position of the Agamic and Tantric dogmatism, which *Trika*, in the main, represents. This philosophical system is called "*Pratyabhijna*" by Madhavcharya in his *Sarvadarsana Samgarha* (in the 14th Century) on the basis of the title given by Utpaladeva to his Karikas.[5] For this apparent reason, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan also calls the system '*Pratyabhijna*' and not *Trika system.*[6] The system is also generally known as 'Kashmir Saivism', as this name was first given to it by J.C. Chatterji, because all writers on it belonged to Kashmir. 'Saivism or Saiva system is a more comprehensive term representing any system evolved from Saivagamas or Saiva Tantras ; sixty-four systems of the Saiva cult are mentioned in the scriptures of Kashmir Saivas, which include *Trika*[7] as one of them. It is pointed out that 'It was known as *Svatantryavada,* a name by which it is referred to by Abhinavagupta in his *Vivrti Vimarsini*' (I.P.P.V., P.9). The system is stated to be also known as *Abhasavada.*[8] These are only the different doctrines included in the system. It is therefore correct to call the system, by which we mean the philosophic system, by the name *'Pratyabhijna'*.

The second controversial point is regarding the statement made by K.C. Pandey that Pratyabhijna Philosophy was not indigenous to Kashmir but was introduced and developed by the two ancestral lines which came to Kashmir from outside.[9] To those who think that the Pratyabhijna or Trika Darsana and its teachers were brought to Kashmir from outside, it may be questioned, 'Before its emergence in Kashmir where else did it originally exist wherefrom it was brought to Kashmir by the ancestors of Somananda and Abhinavagupta ?' Actually we have no trace of the system outside Kashmir before Somananda's time. As to the statement that the fourth ancestor of Somananda (Sangamaditya) came from Kailasa to spread the Saivagamas in Kashmir, it may be noted that this is not a historical fact, but is intended to give sanctity to Saivagamas. It may also be stated that Abhinavagupta received instruction in the Pratyabhijna Sastra from his teacher Lakshmanagupta who did not belong to his immigrant ancestral line, but was born from some other native family of Kashmir. It is, however, certain that Lakshmanagupta himself learnt the Pratyabhijna system in Kashmir and not outside. Jayaratha, the commentator of Tantraloka, clearly states that the orginators of this monistic system were the natives of Kashmir, namely Somananda and others. Just as saffron is indigenous to Kashmir, so is this system of philosophy. It was not to be found elsewhere before its origination in Kashmir. It emerged and flourished in Kashmir, and it is from this country that it spread in other parts of India where it was received and held in high esteem, as an unique thing like saffron.[10]

The third view-point concerns the time of existence of the system. Dr. Pandey thinks that 'the philosophic tradition which Somananda represents goes back about the end of the 4th century A.D.', as he says that Somananda represents himself to be the nineteenth descendant of Tryambaka; as such we will have to admit that a period of four hundred and fifty years must have intervened between Tryambaka, the propagator of monistic Saivagamas, and Somananda who lived in the ninth century A.D. It may be admitted that the monistic Saivagamas, said to have been first propagated by Tryambaka, may have existed long before Somananda, but as admitted by Dr. Pandey himself, Somananda is the first to make a definitely rationalistic approach to the problems of the Ultimate Reality. He refutes the view-points of the various prevailing schools of thought, contradicts their different theories and puts in nutshell his own new points of view.[11] It will have, therefore, to be admitted that Somananda laid the foundation-stone of the new philosophical system Pratyabhijna, in the ninth century A. D., and not that the particular philosophic tradition existed before his time.

A similar view is expressed by Prof. Lachhmidhar. He attempts to establish that Pratyabhijna philosophy existed in Kalidasa's time (in the 5th century A.D.). Firstly, according to him, 'Saivism followed by Kalidasa is a monistic philosophy which is no other than the Pratyabhijna Phlosophy'; secondly, as he says, 'Kalidasa propounded the philosophy of Pratyabhijna in his works, particularly Sakuntala...which is the allegorical representation of this philosophy'.[12] It may be stated that there is no evidence in Abhijnana Sakuntalam or any other work of Kalidasa to show that the Pratyabhijna system even existed in his time, not to speak of its having an influence upon him. It is certain that Kalidasa was an Advaita-vadi Vedantin as admitted by Prof. Hillebrandt who observes: 'even a cursory view of his works will show that he was influenced by the philosophy of Upanisads and the Bhagvadgita.[13] In view of this, it is not correct to say that Kalidasa was influenced by Pratyabhijna system. Prof. Lachhmidhar says, 'in order to popularise this Pratyabhijna philosophy is its early days of promulgation, Kalidasa hits at the happy device of writing an allegory on the basis of the love story of Sakuntala in the Mahabharata'. In support of this statement he has given neither positives nor parallels. The attempt of the learned professor in attaching philosophical significance to some common words and ideas occurring in Kalidasa's *Sakuntalam* and twisting the tenets of the system in the various love incidents of the drama is rather far fetched. It is questionable why Kalidasa, does not state anywhere in *Sakuntalam* or any other work, that he invented the allegory in this drama on the basis of the tenets of the Pratyabhijna system which he intended to popularise. As to Prof. Lachhmidar's remark 'that in very early centuries Monistic Saivism...representing the Pratyabhijna doctrine is already existent in the Nilamata (Purana)' (work assigned the date 6th or 7th centuries A.D.) which he has supported by citing certain verses from it,[14] it may be noted that these verses represent the common ideas which occur in both the Pratyabhijna system and the Vedanta as are incorporated in them as well as in the *Nilamata Purana* from the *Upanisads*, which are the fountain-head of the philosophical ideas. The learned Prof. seems to have failed to notice the distinctive features of the Pratyabhijna system in which it differs from the Vedanta system.

The next view-point is regarding the connection between the Pratyabhijna system and the Sankaracarya's school of Vedanta. There are so many points common to Pratyabhijna Darsana and the Vedanta. The resemblance between the two systems has been first noticed by Dr. Buhler, who says 'This system (Pratyabhijna) does not appear to be older than the end of the ninth century A.D. and because it of so late a date, it seems to me most probable that its resemblance to Sankaracarya's doctrines cannot be purely accidental.[15] The scholar thinks that there was definitely an influence of Sankaracarya's school of Vedanta upon the Pratyabhijna. On the other hand, Dr. K.C. Pandey says that there was a great influence of Sankara's Tantric philosophy on *Trika*. He remarks, 'this visit of such a great person (Sankaracarya to Kashmir)...purged the local faith of its Buddhistic element and strengthened the position of the new Tantric creed.'[16] It is not possible to agree with the learned scholar in holding that the great Sankaracarya, the expounder of the Vedanta system, had any share in the preaching or practice of Tantric philosophy, not to speak of its having an influence on the Pratyabhijna system. The internal evidence from his main works, the *Brahma Sutra* Bhasya and the *Upanisada Bhasya*, shows that neither the Tantra technique, nor any Tantric doctrine was known to Sankaracarya, the great Vedanta philosopher. The occurrence of some philosophical ideas and technical terms as common in Sankaracarya's *Daksinamurti-stotra* and *Isvara Pratyabhijna Vimarsini*, pointed out by Dr. Pandey in certain quotations from both these works in his thesis (Abhinavagupta),[17] do not show any Tantric influence of Sankara's school on the Pratyabhijna, as we are familiar with these Vedantic ideas and terms in the early Upanisads and also in Badrayana's Brahma Sutras. It is not understood what specifically Tantric is noticed in these ideas which represent more or less the Vedantic thought.

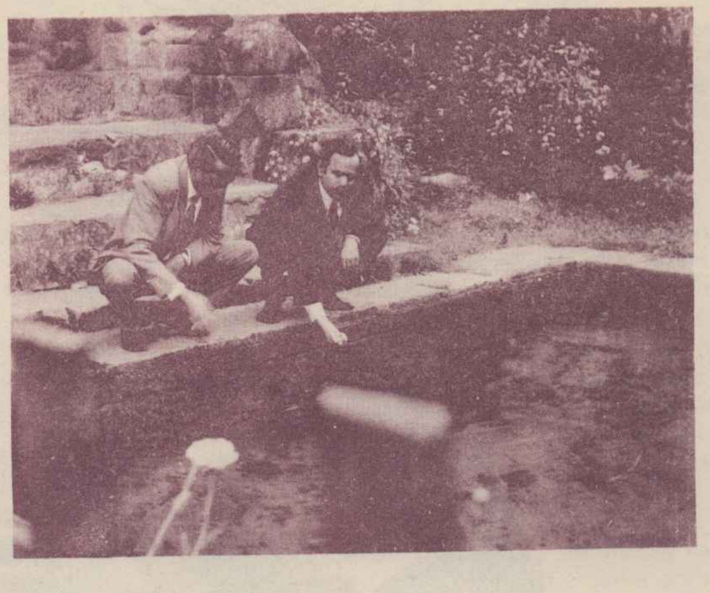
Specific doctrines of Pratyabhijna :—The term Pratyabhijna is used, for the first time, in the special philosophic sense by Buddhists. According to them the special feature of knowledge (sanna, the Pali form of Sajna meaning the conceptual knowledge) is recognising (Paccabhinna, the Pali form of Pratyabhijna) by means of a sign (abhinnanena, the Pali form of Abhijnanena). According to another explanation, a recognition takes place by the inclusion of the totality of aspects of a thing. The idea of 'Recognition' (Pratyabhijna), involving the two-fold process of simultaneously perceiving some of the aspect of a thing and remembering all of its previously cognised aspects in their totality, was conceived by Somananda in his Sivadrsti,[18] for the first time, in reference to the realization of the Ultimate Reality or divine Sakti. In the Isvara Pratyabhijna Vimarsini also the same idea of Pratyabhijna is given.[19] It is held that Parmasiva, the Absolute Being, who is aware of His nature in that state, while adopting the form of individual being (Pasu bhava) by the sovereignty of His will (Svatantrya Sakti) forgets his real nature by his own deluding power (Maya-vimohini-Sakti). The Pratyabhijna enables him to recognise his own nature already known to him before his individuation. 'Recognition' (Pratyabhijna) is distinguished from mere 'knowledge' in the sense that, in the former, the nature of self is not, in reality, unrealized before (nananubhutah), whereas realization in the form of mere 'knowledge' (Jnana) is lacking before its attainment. This is one striking point of difference between the Pratyabhijna and the Vedanta system.

The doctrines of Pratyabhijna are systematically enunciated in the Isvara Pratyabhijna Karkas (Sutras), composed by Utpaladeva. It is divided into four sections-Adhikaras, viz. Jnanadhikara, Kriyadhikara, Agamadhikara and Tattvartha-samgrahadhikara. At the outset of the work, (in the first Adhikara), the teacher says, 'wishing to help humanity, I am establishing Pratyabhijna (Self-Recognition) which is a means of attaining all that is of highest value.[20] Then he tells us that the Self, the Ultimate Cause, called in his system Mahesvara, is endowed with the powers of Cognition and Action, His two primary powers. He is also assigned the Sovereignty of Will, called Mahaesvarya as another primary power. According to Somananda, the teacher of Utpaladeva, Siva who is the 'essence and identity' (Self) of every being, abounds in bliss and consciousness and is all-pervasive. He is an unrestrained stream of 'Will' (free will) and a spontaneous flow of 'Cognition' and 'Activity'.[21] All creation from an atom to a mountain, all that lives or can be said to exist in any form, in the form of sentient or insentient being, microcosm or macrocosm, are endowed with these powers .[22] Then the question arises, as Atman (Self) is the self-luminous Mahesvara, the Ultimate Being, Actor and Knower, where arises the occasion for His Recognition ? All talk of establishing or rejecting the existence of such an eternal and conscious Being is in vain. On this point the teacher says, although Atman is self-luminous, yet His real nature is not manifest due to His own deluding power (Maya-vimohini Sakti). It, however becomes manifest by His own perceiving power (drkkriyatmika Sakti) which remains hidden from awareness due to His innate delusion. It is the Recognitive insight (Pratyabhijna) which revives the perceiving power. The teacher next tells: the existence of insentient objects depends upon sentient beings, for it is an admitted fact that the life of all living things comprises 'Knowledge' and 'Action'. Thus in their very manifestation the insentient objects are also edowed with these two characteristics. Out of these two, Knowledge is self-established (Svatah Siddham) whereas Action (which is also self-established) is associated with a body and is thus perceptible to other perceivers ; and it is through Action that others' Knowledge can be inferred.[23]

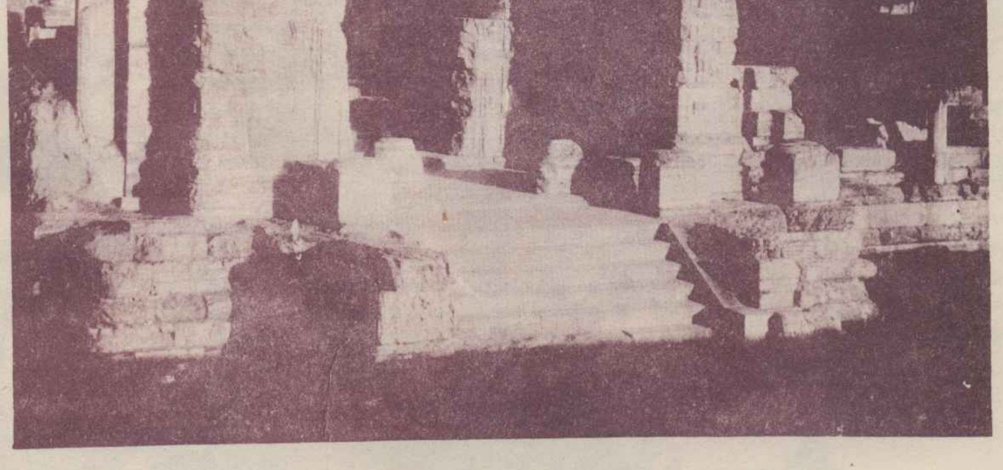
A discussion is introduced to refute the theory of Buddhist Saugatas, according to which the perceiving Self is not a permanent being. The theory of the Savgatas is based on their doctrine of General Momentariness. Utpaladeva rejects the theory mainly on the ground of the phenomena of remembrance, and establishes the existence of permanent and eternal Self. We are conscious of our identity that we persist in all our changing states of consciousness, and though our ideas are continuously changing with the changing objects, we remain unchanged all the same.[24] The Self is endowed with three specific powers, the power of Remembrance (Smarna Sakti), the power of Knowledge (Jnana Sakti) and the power of Differentiation (Apohana Sakti) which are three distinct forms of Cognitive Power *(Jnatratva Sakti)*. The doctrine concerning these three powers is comprehensively treated in the work.[25] It is next established that these three powers rest in one substratum, the permanent Self (Atman), the Mahesvara. The nature and function of the Sovereignty of Will (Mahesvaraya), Volitional power, is further discussed and explained in a novel way. Here two new theories are introduced (1) Svatantryavada and (2) Abhasavada. All this is dealt with in the first Adhikara, Jnanadikara (Section dealing with Cognition).

In the second Adhikara, Kriyadhikara, Section dealing with Action, physical activity, we are told that the whole creation or, in other words, manifestation is the result of the *Kriya Sakti*. Under the operation of three laws, viz. the law of Division *(bhedabheda)*, the law of Perception *(mana-tat-phala-meya)* and the law Causation *(Karya karana, Kriya Sakti* turns into a constituent power *(nirmana Sakti)* which brings into existence the whole cosmos. Utpaladeva first discusses about the nature of *Kriya-Sakti*. He raises the question : *Kriya* involves succession *(Krama)* causing plurality which is contrary to the nature of Self who is, in essence, devoid of plurality. It is explained that *Kriya* (Action) involves plurality owing to the function of *Kala Sakti* (the time factor). Plurality is the result of perception of an object at different moments of time..[26] Self possessing *Kriya-sakti* as one of his primary powers is uneffected by *Kala-sakti* and is thus free from the nature of plurality. This

Parmandal Line of Temples, Jammu.



Temple at Mamal (Pahalgam), ancient Mamleshwara, built by King Jayasimha (12th Century A.D.) In front of the temple there is a beautiful spring. The monument is a State-Protected one. Dr. Iqbal and Mr. T.R. Sahi are seen in the picture.



Remains of Avantiswarman temple at Avantipur built by King Avantiverman after his coronation. 9th Century A.D.

is explained by the theory of manifestation (*Abhasa-vada),* which is a newly-coined theory in the Pratyabhijna system. According to it, *Atman* or *Mahesvara* (Lord) is the Manifester of diverse manifestations *(citra-bhasa-krttah-prabho)* in the form of the various objects of this universe. The *Kala Sakti of this Lord (Atman)* differentiates various manifestations at different moments of time as distinct entities. *Abhasavada* explains the relations of Plurality and Unity (Bhedabheda)' the relation of 'Subject', 'awareness' and Object' *Pramata, Pramana* and *Prameya)* and the relation of Cause and Effect *(Karana Karya),* in conformity with the doctrine of Monism *(Advaita).* Unity in plurality is the first or the fundamental law of *Kriya Sakti* of which the other two laws, the law of Perception and the law of Causation, are derivatives or corollaries. These three laws are comprehensively discussed in three separate Sections.[27] Thus One Lord is both the Manifester—Subject *(Aham)* and the manifested—Object *(Idam).* The manifested world is analysed into thirty-six *Tattvas'* the essential principles of creation, from *Siva,* the highest principle, to the earth, . the principle of solidity. In the third *Adhikara, Agamadhikara,* Section dealing with *Agama* tenets, it describes the thirty-six *Tattvas* with their new interpretation as the categories of *Abhasavada,* besides other matters, derived from Agamas, such as the pure and impure creation of perceivers, *(Pramatas),* the bondage *(Samsara)* and freedom *(Svatantrya),* the impurities *(malas),* the different states of perceivers *(Pramatas),* and four methods of realisation for liberation (freedom).[28] In the fourth *Adhikara, Tattva-samgrahadhikara,* the teacher recapitulates all the important doctrines of the system and explains the essential nature of the Highest Being which is the Self of all living beings.[29] The summum bonum of the system is to 'recognise' the supreme and free nature of Self realising that all this world is one's own creation.[30] Thus fully knowing one's self and its highest potential powers of Cognition and Action, one thinks and acts in a right manner to see one's all his desired objects accomplished.[31] By recognising one's profounder Self, a common man attains all that is of highest value and may have the transcendental power (sidhi) without much effort.[32] Somananda also says, if the nature of fire is known that it gives light and heat, its knowledge enables us to make proper use of it for lighting our houses and other purposes. Similarly by knowing the value and the qualities of gold we can make proper use of it. Thus if the nature of *Siva Atman (Self)* is known, proper use of His powers—iccha, jnana and Kriya—will enable us to accomplish our desired objects state.[33]

The above gives the bird's eye-view of the doctrine as enunciated in the Pratyabhijna Sastra. Some of the outstanding features of the doctrine are further brought out here. It will be noticed that the universe was viewed in three different standards by three classes of former philosophers. The Nyaya-Vaisesika systems viewed it in the 'Realistic Standard', the Sankhya-Yoga systems in the 'Psycho-dynamic Standard' and the Sankara's school of Vedanta in the 'Ployo-nymic Standard'.[34] While the first two classes of philosophers represented the two stages of realistic thought, the third class followed the idealistic philosophy of ever-changing names and forms. The third class aimed at the Upanisad monism by teaching absolute idealism. They attempted to identify subject and object and establish the phenomenal character of the world, thus reducing the facts of life to unreal manifestations. The Pratyabhijna philosophy was the first to level opposition to this irrational view of Sanskara's system. The system set out correct the Sankara's theory of Maya-vada by uprooting its cause in the earlier doctrines of the Buddhists, like *ksanika-vada,* and *Vijnana-vada.* In this school the conception of the Ultimate Reality *Mahesvara* has changed from that of the Vedantins' Brahman symbolising only pure universal consciousness. The Ultimate Reality in the Pratyabhijna system includes *Prakasa* and *Vimarsa* as its two aspects, which symbolise respectively Universal consciousness and physical activity.[35] It is owing to these two aspects of the Ultimate Reality that the universe consists of mind and matter, subject and object. The Psychological phenomena are attributed to the *Jnatratva Sakti* (Omniscience) of Mahesvara, whereas the physical phenomena arise from His *Kartratva Sakti* (omnipotence). *Atman,* according to Pratyabhijna school, is *Parkasa-vimarsa maya; Prakasa makes Atman* conscious of itself and *Vimarsa* makes him conscious of the external object world. *Prakasa* and *Vimarsa* represent in the Pratyabhijna philosophy the two aspects of the Ultimate Reality symbolised in Spinoza's system in terms of 'thought' and 'extension'. 'Extension' is visible thought and 'thought' is invisible extension. They are the objective and the subjective phases of which God is the identity. Everything is a mode of God's attribute of extension ; every thought, wish, or feeling, a mode of His attribute of'thought'[36].

Svatantrya-vada or the universal Voluntarism is the chief doctrine of the Pratyabhijna system. It means the doctrine of 'Self-dependence' or the 'sovereignty of Lord's will which 'imparts the impetus to the process of the world'. In the earlier systems three main theories are propounded to account for the process of the creation, viz. (1) the Realistic or Creationist view *(Arambhavada),* (2) the theory of Transformation (Parinama-vada) and (3) the theory of Manifestation *(Vivartavada).* The pratyabhijna Philosophy proves them unsound. According to the first theory there exist nine classes of realities out of which everything in the universe is formed. It does not give any reason how Effect comes out of the cause in which the former does not exist before it comes into existence. According to the second view Cause brings out Effect, after it undergoes complete destruction. For instance, milk is transformed into curds after it no longer exists in that form. Seed changes into plant after it is completely merged in the soil. It has failed to explain the following instances. The birth of a babe takes place not after the destruction of its Cause, the parent ; the creation and multiplication of bacteria do not involve the destruction of the former bacterium. According to the third theory, *Vivarta-vada,* which is upheld by Shankaracharya, all effects are the product of *Maya,* the Nescience. Pratyabhijna considers it absurd to think all the facts of experience are the product of the fictitious principle, *Maya.* It makes a realistic and rational approach to the problem and postulates a new theory *Svatantrya-vada* to replace the earlier theories which are held objectionable. On the basis of this new theory it is due to the sovereignty of the Lord's Will that Effect evolves from Cause. It is the Lord's Self-dependent Power (*Svatantrya-Shakti)* that multipiles effect from a single cause without destroying itself (the cause). The production of species from parents, expansion and growth of cells from a single cell, creation and multiplication of bacteria from the first bacterium—all these are examples of the *Svatantrya-Shakti* of the Supreme Cause. The Universal Voluntarism is the only explanation that rational thinking can give to the wonderous creative power in Nature.[37] Schopenhauer (in the Western Philosophy) has also hit upon the same idea in his doctrine of "Will as the cause of everything"—will as a force of spontaneity and sense of effort, an impulse, instinct and spring of life, supernatural power.[38]

Abhasavada (Pratyabhijna theory of Manifestation) is another theory coined in the system for the explanation of the doctrine of Monism. Almost similar to *Vivrta-vada of* Vedanta, *Abhasavada also* holds the world objects as manifestations or Abhasas. The only difference between the two theories lies in the point that the *Abhasas* in the Pratyabhijna system are real in nature, where as those in the Shankar's system are fictious and hence unreal. The system holds that it is the very nature of *Parma Shiva,* the Supreme Cause, to manifest Himself in diverse forms of the universe. *Abhasa-vada* postulates that as to burn is the very nature of fire, so to manifest externally what lies within is the very nature of Self. As it cannot be questioned why fire burns, so we cannot question why Shiva manifests Himself in the form of the universt. The manifested objects are real as they exist in the Supreme Reality. The manifested world appears on the background of Self *(Svatmabhitti).* Thus we have two aspects of Self, *Prakasa and Vimarsa;* the one stands as the substratum of manifestations and the other is the process of manifestations going upon this substratum.[39]

The doctrine of Tattvas is indeed a new discovery towards the exploration of all the essential principles of creation. It is an elaborate analysis of the Universal Energy *(Shakti),* "Primordial natural force-principle" or the *Prima Materia* of all things, to put it in terms of the Western Philosophy. The list of categories may not sound very convincing now, in the light of modern scientific advances. But the entire conception is highly dramatic. It may be pointed out that the doctrine is found in other systems of Saivism with slight variations in its interpretation. The Sankhya system enumerates 25 Tattvas (categories of creation). These are of course, mentioned originally in scattered forms in the various Upanisads and are picked out by the Sankhys philosophers and put in a connected system. These are incorporated in total by the Kashmir Saivas in their system, who have further added eleven more Tattvas to bring the total number of Tattvas to thirty-six.[40]

Though there are so many points common to Pratyabhijna system and the Vedanta, yet these two schools are as different from each other as are the other schools of Indian Philosophy. As regards the fundamental differences between the two schools the Saivas argue as follows:-According to the Vedanta, the nature of Brahman (the Ultimate Reality) is *Sat, Cit* and *Ananda,* i.e. existences consciousness and bliss. It is of the nature of changeless or inactive consciousness *(Santra-cit),* but lacks in Vimarsa which implies changing nature *(Ksobatvam)* and activity *(Kriya),* viz. its innate power of expansion into cosmos. *Vimarsa* is contrary to tranquil *(santa)* or inactive nature of Brahman. Vimarsa of Saivas is, according to the Vedantins, a form of *Vikalpa,* i.e., superimposition or illusion. On this point the Saivas say, it is illogical to hold Vimarsa as Vikalpa and thus to attribute an unlike characteristic *(Vijatiya Dharma)* to

Brahman. Hence, the Vedantins will have to accept *Vimarsa* not as *Vikalpa*, but as real characteristic of Brahman which gives Him the changing nature (Ksobatvam). According to Saivas *Siva* is all-powerful and is endowed with both *Prakasa* and *Vimarsa*. *Prakasa* is the pure consciousness uneffected by material change, which is almost equivalent to Vedantins' *Sat-cidananda Brahman. And Vimarsa* is the activity, the changing nature *(Ksobatvam)*, i.e., the potentiality of changing itself into the form of the universe. Both *Prakasa* and *Vimarsa* are innate in *Siva*. It cannot be supposed that something extraneous causes in *Siva* the nature of changing into the form of the world, as Vedantins do in attributing Nescience *(Maya)* to Brahman for causing superimposition of the world in Itself. Nothing extraneous causes the potency of burning in fire, but the characteristic of burning is innate in it. The nature of *Vimsara* is thus innate in *Siva*, the power *(sakti)* of manifesting Himself in the form of the world. Saivas further question, how can Brahman be of the nature of *Vikalpa, as the Vedantins* themselves cite so often the Sruti '*Yatha visphulings...*' i.e. *Jivas* evolve from *Brahman* as sparks from fire *(Agnikana-nyayena)*. From this it is clear that Jiva is of the nature of *Brahman*. As, according to Vedantins, *Brahman* lacks the *Paramarsa* Sakti, viz., the power of differentiating subjects and objects, *Jiva* should also lack it. Thus its very existence as *Jiva* becomes null and void. But as spark has by nature the power of burning which is originally innate in fire from which it evolves, so we must admit *Paramarsa* Sakti to be innate in Brahman, as we find it in *Jiva*. The Vedantin objects to this point and says that *Vimarsa* comes to *Jiva* by adopting *Upadhi* (body). *Upadhi* means something that conditions limitation to holding capacity. Thus the *Upadhi* renders *Jiva* limited in powers, but *Vimarsa* cannot be the result of adopting an *Upadhi*. The Vedantin has to accept *Maya Sakti* as the principle that divides Brahman into limited forms. The Saiva questions: "is *Maya Sakti* innate in Jiva or Brahman ?" It cannot be supposed to be innate in *Jiva*, as in that case the division into *Jiva* and *Brahman* will be impossible. In case Maya Sakti is supposed to be innate in the latter *(Brahman)*, its purity will be impaired by limitation which is inconsistent with the nature of *Brahman (Siva)*. On this inconsistency the Vedantin says that in essence *Maya* is not a real thing. What is it then, the Saiva asks ? Vedantin says, it is of the nature of illusion, which causes one to manifest itself in the form of many. What is the characteristic of Maya ? If the Vedantin says, it is of the nature of ignorance, Saiva questions: is it something of positive character (*bhavarupam)* or of a negative character *(abhavarupam)?* In the latter alternative, there will not be the manifestation of diverse objects. In the former alternative, it will be impossible for the pure Brahman to be the cause of the impure world, which is of the nature of illusion, otherwise Brahman will thus be reduced to nothingness *(abhavarupam)*. The Saiva further questions, what is the nature of this positive entity, i.e., the ignorance of positive characteristic *(Bhavarupa)?* The Vedantin replies, it is inexplicable (*Anirvacya)*. The Saiva says, if so, how do you call it *Maya;* the Vedantin replies, inexplicably (*anirvacyataya iti)*. Then the Saiva comes to the point that Maya is the same as Brahman, as the Sruti says '*Yata vaco nivartante...*', which refers to Brahman. Thus Vedantin has to accept *Maya* and *Brahman* as identical, having the power *(sakti)* to assume the form of the world *(Jagat)*. The Saiva says that Maya Sakti is innate in Siva *(Vedantin's* Brahman) *(Sva svarupa bhuta)*.

The general view of the Vedantins is that the universe is false, having a visionary existence, the cause of which is beginningless *Avidya* (a sort of ignorance). The Saivas say, if *Avidya* is false, *it* cannot be the cause of this universe which has been existing from times immemorial. How can a thing, which is false and unsubstantial, bring into existence anything full of substance ? It is not clear as to whom this *Avidya* involves. It cannot involve *Brahman* which is ever pure, all knowledge and all bliss. How it could involve a limited soul, but no limited soul, according to Vedanta, does ever exist. It is only the *Brahman* that exists. So vedanta leaves this problem unsolved. In view of the Saivas, the universe is not false. It is real; the universe exists. It always existed in the all-pervading Siva. He has both the transcendental aspect and the universal aspect, as His nature is both Prakasa, pure luminosity and pure consciousness, and *Vimarsa* which is given another name, viz. *Spands,* i.e. *vibration-like activity*. Both aspects of Siva are true in reality. How can, therefore, a person dispence with the universe as something visionary absolutely false ? Every soul is a hero in this divine drama of Siva and has to reach the conclusion of this drama by shaking off his self-imagined ignorance and by realizing his nature. This is the view of Pratyabhijna philosophers of Kashmir.

It has been pointed out that there are two points of view expressed in the Upanisads regarding the nature of Brahman. One is the positive approach according to which it has been preached that everything is *Brahman,—'I am Brahman'*, thou art that, and so on. The other approach is the negative approach, according to which it has been taught that Brahman is not this, He is not that He transcends all the objective elements, and so on. But it is this latter approach which has become popular with the authors of the major works on the Vedanta. This one-sided view of the truth popularised by the Vedantins has been responsible for all the criticism made on the Vedanta by other schools of Indian philosophy, like the schools of Ramanujacarya and Vallabhacarya and the Pratyabhijna system.

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23. IPK. I, i, 3-5.
24. IPK. I. ii and iii.
25. IPK, I, iv, v, vi.
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The universe is full of magical things, patiently
waiting for our wits to grow sharper.

—Eden Phillpotts

FAITH

"It is faith that seers us through stormy seas, faith that moves mountains and faith that jumps across the ocean. That faith is nothing but a living, wide-awake consciousness of God within. He who has achieved that faith wants nothing. Bodily diseased he is spiritually healthy, physically poor, he rolls in spiritual riches.

Without faith this world would come to naught in a moment. True faith is appropriation of the reasoned experience of people whom we believe to have lived a life purified by prayer and penance. Belief, therefore, in prophets or incarnations who have lived in remote ages is not an idle superstition but a satisfaction of an inmost sprititual want.

Faith is not a delicate flower which would wither under the slightest stormy weather. Faith is like the Himalaya mountains which cannot possibly change. No storm can possibly remove the Himalaya mountains from their foundations... And I want everyone of you to cultivate that in God and religion.

A man without faith is like a drop thrown out of the ocean bound to perish.Every drop in the ocean shares its majesty and has the honour of giving us the ozone of life.

Prayer is the first and the last lesson in learning the noble and brave art of sacrificing self in the various walks of life culminating in the defence of ones nation's liberty and honour. Undoubtedly prayer requires a livnig faith in God.

Prayer is an impossibility without a living faith in the presence of God wthin"

—Mahatma Gandhi.

Century-old Printed Dogri Literature

B. P. Sharma

It seems to be an established fact that the Dogri language has had its own character and a rich heritage. Dr. Grierson's view is, therefore, questionable.

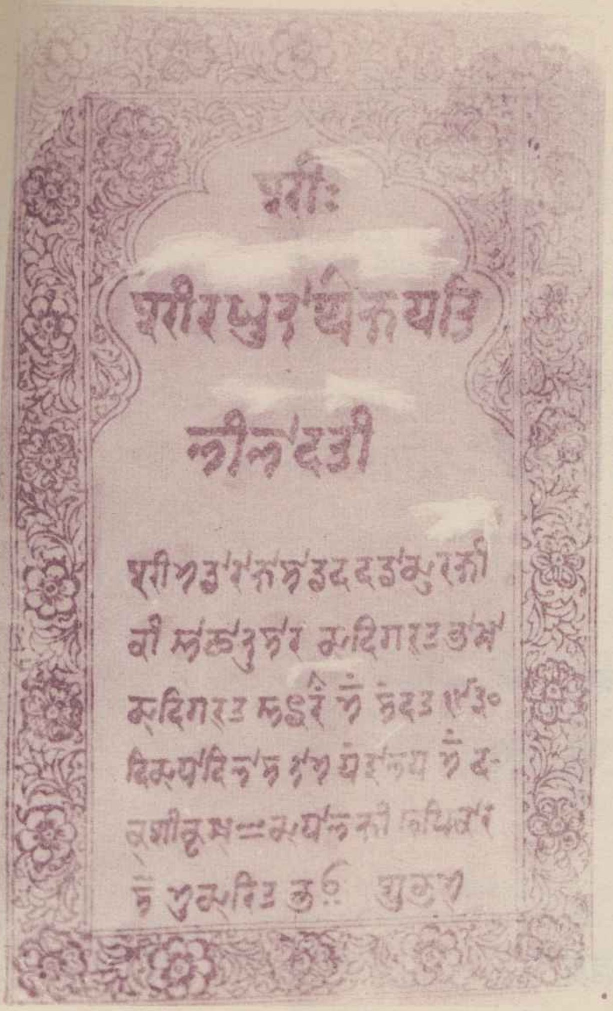
The recent discovery of some Dogri books printed over 100 years ago, has changed scholar's opinion about Dogri language and literature. It was so far believed that no printed Dogri Literature existed prior to 1940. The most outstanding of these publications is "Lilawati", a mathematical work, printed at the Vidya Vilas Press, Jammu, in 1873.

"Lilawati" in Sanskrit was written by one of India's greatest mathematicians, Bhaskaracharya (b. 1114 A. D.). But as Sanskrit remained a privilege of the few, the late Maharaja Ranbir Singh got it translated into Dogri for the benefit of the people inhabiting the land of the Dogras. The translation of the book was done by Jyotshi Bisheshwar, then Principal of the Jammu Pathashala. He belonged to Basohli and was one of the learned men employed by the late Maharaja Ranbir Singh.

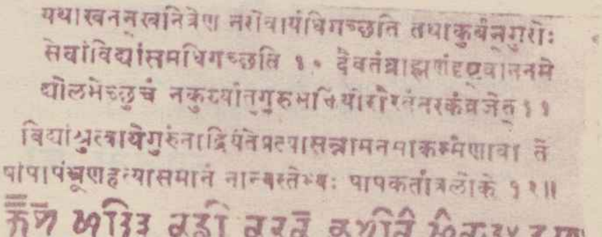
"Lilawati" was noticed by the famous German scholar, Dr. Buhler (1). Dr. Buhler actually came to Jammu in 1875. However, this book was not made available to Dr. Grierson who toured throughout the country between 1888 and 1903 to collect material for his Linguistic Survey. Dr. Grierson says that he had not seen any Dogri publication. To quote his own words :

> "So far as I am aware the only Dogri book which has been printed is a version of the New Testament in "Jamboo or Dogura" issued by the Serampore Missionaries in 1826. There are said to be some translations of Sanskrit books in Dogra, one of which, a version of the Lilawati (a mathematical work) is mentioned by Dr. Buhler." (2)

Besides "Lilawati", there existed several other printed books in Dogri language when Dr. Grierson came to Jammu. The antipathy and indifference of the officials of the State towards Dogri seems to be responsible for leading that great linguist to believe that no printed Dogri literature was then available. These officers were meant to guide him in his long tours within the State.



Lilawatti, a significant work on mathematics by Bhaskaracharya (12th Century A.D.) was translated in Dogri and published in 1873 A.D. The above is the title page of the book.



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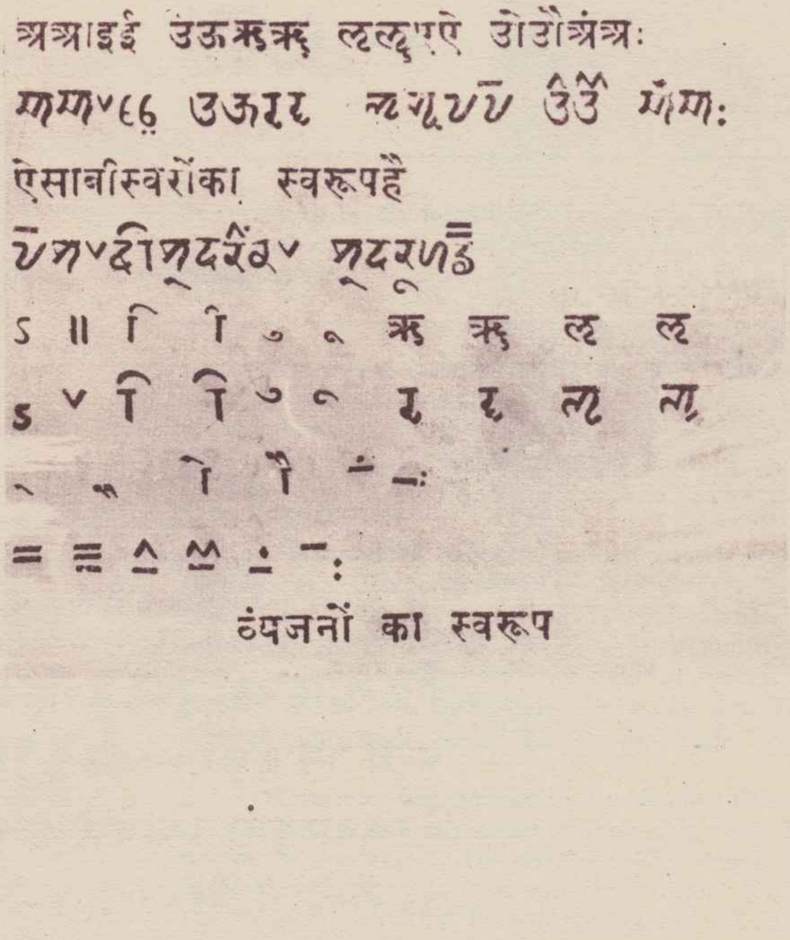
विद्यांश्रुत्वायेगुरुंनाद्रियंतेप्रत्यासन्नामनसाकर्मणावा ते
पापापंभ्रूणहत्यासमानं नान्यस्तेभ्यः पापकर्तात्रलोके १२॥

The photograph illustrates the Dogri Script (termed New Dogri by Fredric Drew) with corresponding Devnagri letters and vowel signs.



अआइई उऊऋॠ ऌॡएऐ ओऔअंअः

ऐसाबिस्वरोंका स्वरूपहै

ऽ ॥ ि ी ु ू ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ

व्यंजनों का स्वरूप

The above photograph of a page from Vyavhar Gita printed at Shri Raghunath Ji Press, Jammu, in 1884, illustrates specimen of the Dogri type printed alongwith Sanskrit text in Devnagri type.

Subsequently, what Dr. Grierson wrote was accepted as Gospel truth and he was quoted as an authority on the subject by several writers not excluding the exponents of Dogri. A copy of this valuable book having been found at Ramnagar in the personal library of the late Raja Ram Singh (3) a file in the State Archives dealing with the personal collection of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (later transferred to the Ranbir Public Library) provided further evidence. It was observed that "Lilawati" had been lying in a shelf for the last 80 years, perhaps never consulted by any Dogri scholar. I personally got at another voluminous work of 3 volumes in Dogri character entitled "Vyavhar Gita". This book was printed at Shri Raghunath Ji Press, Jammu, in 1884 A. D. It gave another useful clue—the establishment of the second printing press in Jammu. The whole book is printed on letter press in Dogri type. The existence of this book belies another statement of Dr. Grierson that "Dogra has never been printed in type of its own character. I, therefore, give the specimens in the vernacular character in the facimile just as I have received them."(4)

Whatever opinion Dr. Grierson might have formed about Dogri on seeing the books printed by typographical or litho process, one thing is definite that the very mention of the existence of these books in his report would have prevented Dogri writers from going astray. The discovery of these books has now established that Dogri has a rich heritage and deserves to be treated equally with other recognised languages.

Dogri Script :

Perhaps the most authentic record of Dogri being one of the two official languages of the State (the other being Persian) has been left by Frederic Drew, who was in the service of the Maharaja from 1862 to 1872. Giving an eye-witness account of the Court of Ranbir Singh, Drew records :

> "In its old form the Dogri alphabet was imperfect and not easy to read either accurately or quickly. For this reason, a few years ago, the Maharaja caused to be invented a modification of it; by this it was brought nearer to Devnagri, so near that the system is quite one with that, though the forms are somewhat different... The new Dogri is used for the petitions that are read before the Maharaja and for this purpose it has replaced Persian, in which petitions were written when I first came to Jammu; but it has not generally displaced either Persian or the old Dogri. The old Dogri character is made use of only for writing the Dogri language, it is allowed in certain official documents, as in reports from officers of the army, who are of a class by whom Persian is hardly ever acquired..."(5)

The old Dogri character had no vowel signs which made it difficult to read. The modified Dogri script as illustrated with this article blended in itself all vowel signs and other modifications to meet the phonetical requirements of the language.

To ensure uniformity of printing and to make the printed words easier to read a momentous advance was made by getting the Dogri type cast. It is not known for sure when the typographical method of printing Dogri books actually started. The "Vyavhar Gita" printed in 1884 establishes the fact that it must have been started earlier than that year. Ten pages of another book "Vidyarthion ki Pratham Pustak" are also found printed in a letter press.

Rich Treasure of Manuscripts :

The Research Department Library at Srinagar houses a rich treasure of Dogri manuscripts both in Dogri and Persian characters, all translated during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign. Among the manuscripts in the Persian script mention may be made of "*Tarik-i-Farishta*". This manuscript of 292 pages was completed on 12th Maghar 1929 Bikrami.

Among the 22 Dogri manuscripts in Dogri character, mention may be made of "Tuzk-i-Jahangiri", "Tarikh-i-Humayun", "Dogri Script Primer", "Bol Pustak" (Dictionary) and "Persian - English - Vocabulary".

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> *Knowledge is two kinds: we-know a subject ourselves or we know where we can find information upon it.*
>
> *—JOHNSON*

> *The things are most dear to us which have cost us most.*
>
> *—Montaigue*

TRUTH & GOD

"For me, Truth is the sovereign principle, which includes other Principles. This truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal Principle, that is God. There are innumerable definitions of God, because his manifestations are innumerable. They overwhelm me with wonder and awe and for a moment stun me. But I worship God as Truth only. I have not yet found him, but I am seeking after Him. I am prepared to sacrifice the things dearest to me in pursuit of this quest. Even if the sacrifice demanded be my very life, I hope I may be prepared to give it".

"God is not a person......The truth is that God is the force. He is the essence of life. He is pure and undefiled consciousness. He is eternal. And yet, strangely enough, all are not able to derive either benefit from or shelter in the all-pervading living presence".

"I do not claim to have originated any new principle or doctrine, I have simply tried in my own way to apply the eternal truths to our daily life and problems...Well all my philosophy, if it may be called by that pretentions name, is contained in what I have said. You will not call it 'Gandhism'; there is no ism about it. And no elaborate literature or propaganda is needed about it"

—Mahatma Gandhi.

Harijan 28.3.36 P. 49

Genetive Bound–Morphemes of Kashmiri

(Prof.) P.N. Pushp

> **The language of the Kashmiris is, like their dress, peculiar, and distinct from that spoken in any part of India, or of the adjacent countries........ ...Difficult to pronounce, and difficult to acquire, it is generally incomprehensible to strangers.**
>
> —W. Wakefield

0.0 The *Genetive in* Kashmiri presents a very interesting peep into the dynamics of linguistic change ; change from one morphemic pattern to another, in response to certain needs of the situation, prefering the more convenient to the less suitable, and evolving order out of chaos. A comparative study of this genetive with that in other languages of the Country would, no doubt, be highly rewarding; but such a study must needs be preceded by a thorough analysis of the morphological elements that have shaped this Genetive in each of the several languages meriting comparative study. Hence the relevance of this investigation into the bound morphemes that have conditioned the Genetive in Kashmiri. It might, perhaps, help in identifying similar sectors of linguistic experience and experimentation and in facilitating comprehension of linguistic divergence.

1.0.0 The Genetive forms of Kashmiri are, apparently, of the following *five* types:

.1. /co:n/ , /myo:n/ , /so:n/ ;
.2. /panun/, /Mohanun/, /Samadyun/, /ka:kun/, /Nikun/;
.3. /kasund/, /ka:mysund/, /ba:'ysund/, gurysund/;
.4. /kahund/ /kamanhund/, /ba:yanhund/, /guryanhund/,
/ko:rihund/, tsarihund/, /kita:bihund/, /ko:ryanhund/,
/tsaryanhund/, /kita:banhund/ ;
.5. /kamyuk/, /tamyuk/, /garuk/, ba:guk/, /athuk/.

2.0.0 In order to explore the spheres of distribution and areas of operation of these *apparent* types it is necessary to scrutinise a few telling *corresponsives* or *contrastives* like the following :

.1. /tsu'/ : you ; /bu'/ : I ; /a'sy/ : we /tse/ : to you ; /me/ : to me ; /asi/ : to us /co:n/ : your(s); /myo:n/ : my/mine ; /so:n/ : our(s) /ca':nis/ : to your(s) ; /mya:nis/ : to my/mine ; sa':nis/ : to our(s)

/ca’:nysund/ : of one who is yours ; /ca:nyanhund/ : of those who are yours; and so on.

2.2.0 /su/ : he ; /kus/ : who ; /sva/ : she ; /kvas/ : (f.) /tas/ /ta’mis/ : him/her; /kas/ /ka’mis/ : whom (m. as well as f.) /tasund/ /ta’mysund/ : his/her; /kasund/ /ka’msund/: whose /timanhund/: of those (m. as well as f.) /kamanhund/ : of whom.

.3. /ku:r/ : girl ; /kita:b/ : book /ko:ri/ : to the girl; /kita:bi : to the book /ko:rihund/ : of the girl; /kita:bihund/ : of the book /ko:ryahund/ : of the girls /kita:bihund/ : of the books /timanhund/ : of them /timan ko:ryanhund/ : of those girls /timan kita:banhund/ : of those books.

.4. /Niku’/ : a boy called so; /Du:ru’/ : a girl called so /Nikun/ : of Nika ; /Du:run/ : of Du:ra /Nikanhund/ : of Nikas : /Du:ranhund/ : of Du:ras

.5. /garu’/ : house/home ; /athu’/ : hand /garuk/ : of the house/home; /athuk/ : of the hand /garanhund/ : of houses/homes ; athanhund/ : of hands

.6. /ti(h)/ : that ; /su/ /sva/ : he/she /tamyuk/ : of that ; /tasund/ /ta’mysund/ : of him/her /tihund/ /timanhund/ : of those/them (m., f., n.).

.7. /co:n/ : your(s) ; /nyuk/ : thin/feeble /ca:nyuk/ : of what is yours; /nikyuk/: of what is thin /ca’nysund/: of *him* who is yours /ca:nihund/ : of *her* who is yours /ca:nyanhund/ : of those (m., f., n.) that are yours /nikysund/ : of one (m.) who is thin or feeble /nicihund/ : of one (f.) who is thin or feeble /nikyanhund/: of those (m.) that are thin or feeble /nicanhund/ : of those (f.) that are thin or feeble /ca’:nis Nikun/ : of your Nika /ca’:nis nikysund/: of the thin (m.) who belongs to you /ca’:nis nikusund/: of your tiny (boy) /ca:nyi Nicihund/ : of your Nici/ tiny (girl) /ca:nyan Nikanhund/ /. . Nicanhund/ /. . nikyanhund/ /: (pl.)

2.8.0 /ra:th/ : night/yesterday ; /sha:m/ : Shya:m/evening /ra:tuk/ : of yesterday ; /sha:muk/ : of the evening /ra’:tshund/ : of the night ; /Sha:mun/ : of Shya:m /karuk/ : of when ; /tyelyuk/ : of then ; /parsuk/ : last years’s /kamyuk/ : of what ; /garuk/ : of the house/home /katuyuk/ : of where ; /garyuk/ : belonging to the house.

.9. /Nikun mo:l/ : Nika’s father /Niku’ny ma’:j/ : Nika’s mother /Niku’ny ba’:y/ : Nika’s brothers /Niku’nyi benyi/: Nika’s sisters /Niku’nis ma’:lis/; /Niku’ni ma:ji/; /Niku’nyan ba:yan/ and so on.

.10. /garuk zyuth/ : the head of the family /garu’c Ded/ :the Granny of the family /garu’ky ba’:ts/ : members of the family /garu’kis zithis/; /garu’ci Dedi/; /garu’kyan ba’:tsu’n/ and so on.

3.0.0 Scrutiny of the data presented above in 2.0.0 reveals :

.1. Nouns and Adjectives take :
/-un/, /-sund/; /-hund/ and /-uk/.

.2. Pronouns take :
  .1 /-o:n/ and / hund/ : in I and II Person ;
  .2 /-uk/, /-sund/ and /-hund/: in III Person.

.3. Adverbs (of time and place) take : /-uk/.

.4. Singular (number) takes :
/-un/, /-o:n/, /sund/, /-hund/, *or* /-uk/.

.5. Plural (number) invariably takes : /-hund/, the only exception being that of /-o:n'/ in /so:n/

.6. Masculine (gender) takes :
  .1 /-un/, /-o:n/, /sund/ and /-hund/ for the animate
  .2 /-uk/ for the inanimate.

.7. Feminine (gender) takes :
/-un/, /-o:n/ and /-hund/.

.8. /-un/ occurs *only* in the *animate singular* (m., f.), of a Proper Noun.

.9. /-uk/ occurs *only* in the *inanimate masculine* singular.

.10. /-sund/ occurs *only* in the *animate* m. *singular*.

.11. /-hund/ occurs in *all* the plural forms, but in the *singular* forms of the *feminine* only.

.12. /o:n/ occurs only in the I and II Person Pronouns.

4.0.0 The distributional position of these morphological elements can, therefore, be *pinpointed* as under :

4.1.0 /-un/ :

.1 after a Proper Noun (signifying an *animate* being' in the Nominative form of *the masculine* singular, rarely in the feminines ;

.2 also in the Reflexive singular/form : /panun/.

.2. /-o:n/ :

.1 after the I and II Person Pronoun in the Accusative/ Singular form.

.2 also after the I Person Accusative Plural.

.3. /-sund/ :

.1 after the III Person Pronoun in the Accusative masculine singular form (signifying an *animate* being).

.2 after a Proper or non-Proper Noun (signifying an *animate* being) in the Accusative masculine singular.

.4. /-hund/ :

.1 after the III Person Pronoun in the Accusative plural ;

.2 after a Noun in the Accusative form of the feminine (whether *animate* or *inanimate)* in the singular as well as plural ;

.3 after a Noun in the *Accusative* form of the masculine (whether *animate* or *inanimate)* in the plural

.5. /-uk/ :

.1 after a Noun (signifying an *inanimate* being) in the Nominative or Agentive form of the masculine singular ;

.2 after a III Person Pronoun (signifying an *inanimate* being) in the Agentive form of the masculine singular ;

3. after an Adverb (of Time or Place).

5.0.0 The Genetives thus formed are subject to the same inflectional operation as the vocables ending in /-uk/, /-un/ or /-und/, because the feminine and plural forms of these are governed by the same morpho-phonemic considerations as any noun or adjective forms ending in /k/, /n/ or /d/-

6.0.0 A morpho-phonemic scrutiny of the data studied above detects the following changes in the structural assimilation of the morphological elements :

.1. /-un/—/-o:n/ :

/me+un/ : : /mi+on/ : : /myo:n/ ;
/tse+un/ : : /tsi+on/ : : tsyo:n/ : : /co:n/.

.2. /-un/—/-sund/ :

/tas+un/ : : tasun/ : : /tasund ;
/ta'mis+un/ : : ta'mysun/ : : ta'mysund/ ;
/ba':yis+un/ : : /ba':ysun/ : : /ba':ysund/ ;

.3. /-un/—/-hund/ :

/ko:ri(h)+un/ : : /ko:rihun/ : : ko:rihund/ ;

/kita:bi(h)+un/ : : kita:bihund/ ;
/kita:ban(h)+un/ : : /kita:bahund/.

7.0.0 *Summing up :*

Bound Morphemes of the Kashmiri Genetive are only *two:*

.1. /-un/ along with its allomerphs, /-o:n/, /-sund/ and /-hund/ : for all purposes *except* that of the *inanimate* masculine singular.

.2. /-uk/ : for the *inanimate* masculine singular *only* .

8.0.0 Finally, a few conjectures based on comparative vistas of linguistic development may be advanced as a working *hypothesis* for further investigation :

.1. /-un/ appears to have come into operation on the analogy of a construct like /panun/ traceable to the Skt /a:tmanah/.

.2. In this connection a closely parallel form in Gujrati, (/Gujra:tno/, for instance) calls for an in-depth study of this linguistic phenomenon in the light of Gujrat's literary heritage.

.3. Or, have /myo:n/, /co:n/ and /so:n/ anything to do with the analogy of he Skt /ta:vaki:na/, through */madina/ */tvadi:na/ and */asmadi:na/ ?

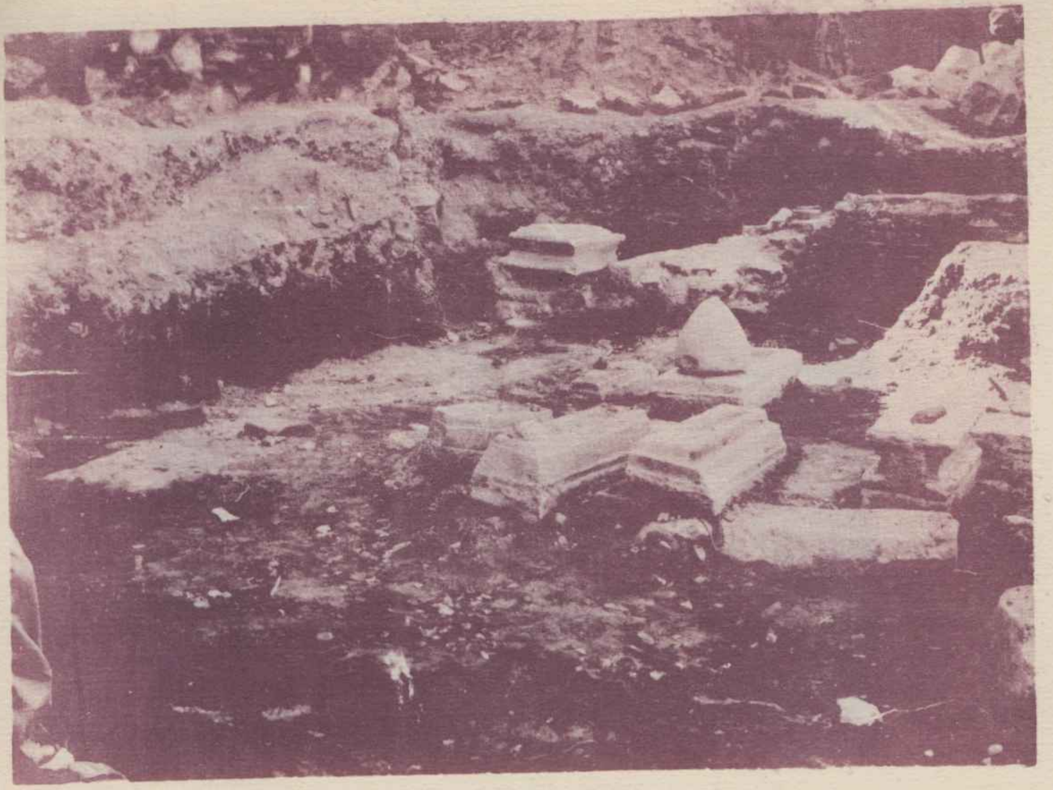
.4. /-uk/ appears to owe its genesis to a device of improvisation with the help of the derivative suffix /-aka/ operating in forms like the Skt. /ma:maka/ or /kutraka/ on the analogy of /ta:raka/, /na:yaka/, /gha:taka/ and /ja:taka/, which have their counterparts in the Kashmir forms : /ta:ruk/, /na:yuk/, ga:tuk/ and /za:tuk/. According to this conjecture the form /garuk/ may well have reached us (in the early stages of this linguistic development) as : /grhaka/—*/ gharaka/—*/ garaku/— /garuk/.

.5. Evolution of the Genetive postposition /ka:/ of Hindi and allied languages, in fact, is a similar development illustrating dominance of a linguistic feature which earlier must have been just one of the casual devices of the language-stock concerned.

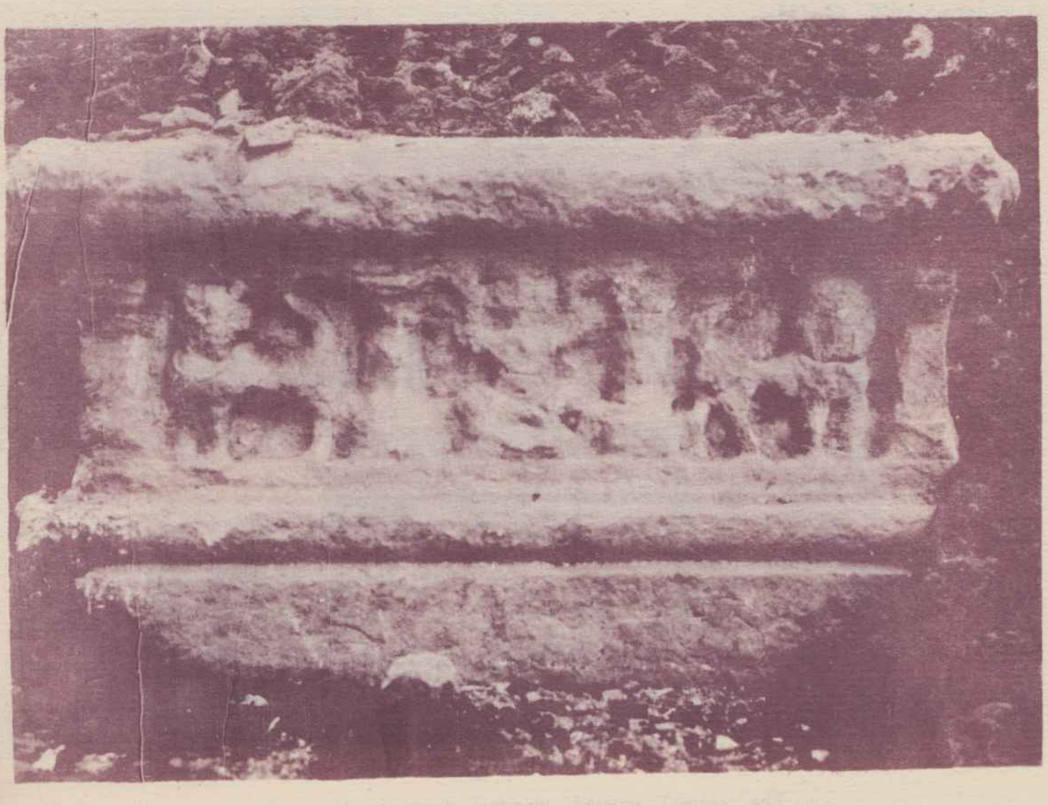
.6. Looked at this perspective, the Genetive morphemes in various Modern Indian languages of the Sanskritic stock appear to have adopted one or more of the following devices or determinants :

8.6.1 /-k/ : as,for instance, by Kashmiri and Hindi : /garuk/ /gharka:/.

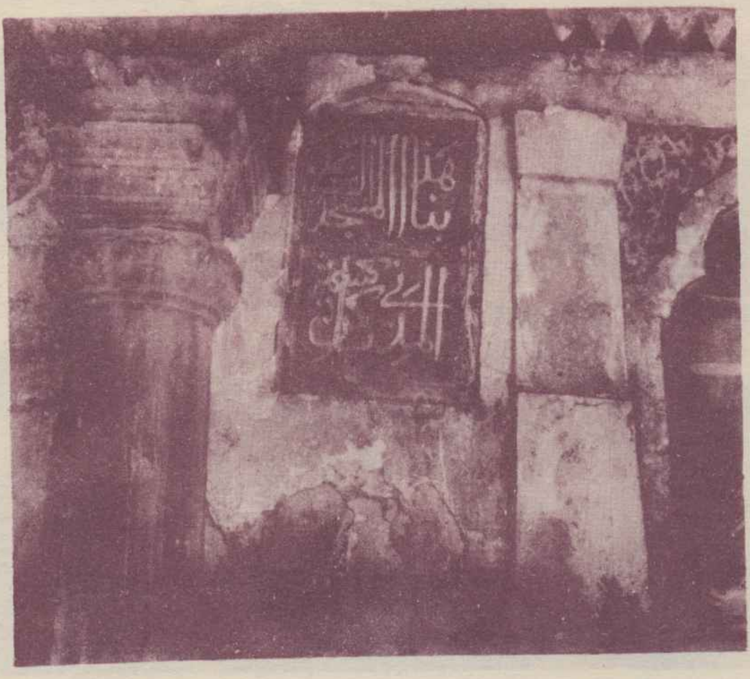
.2 /-n/ : as by Kashmiri and Gujrati : /Na:thun/ /Na:thno:/.



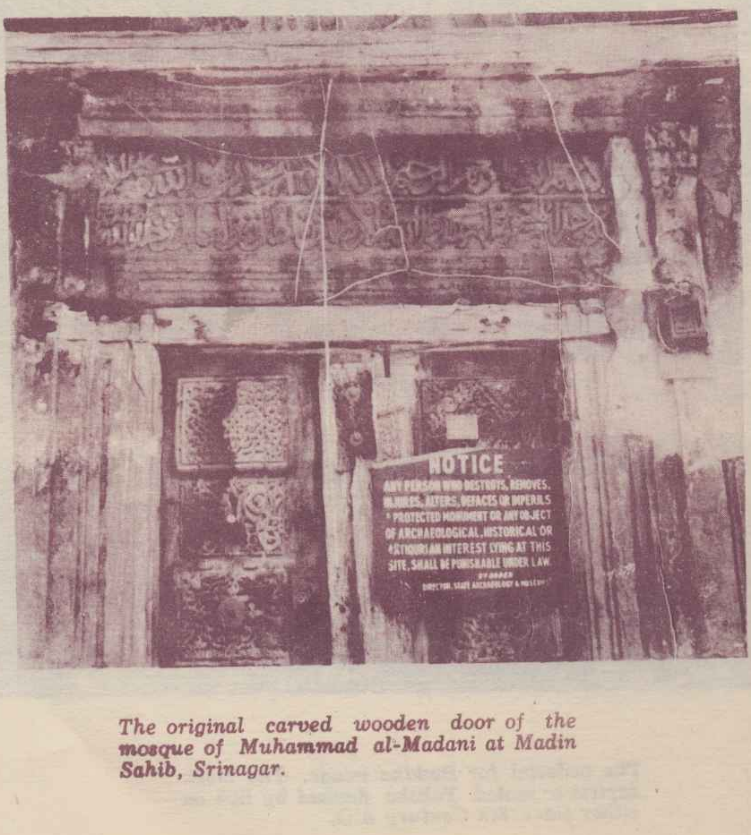
The grave-yard of Malik Saif-ud-Din, Prime Minister of Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir, Rajori Kadal, Srinagar.



The pedestal for Buddha image. The block depicts a seated Yaksha flanked by lion on either sides. 8th Century A.D.



***Madin Saheb's** mosque built by **Muhammad al-Madani** in the reign of **Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin** (1420-1470 A.D.)*


NOTICE
ANY PERSON WHO DESTROYS, REMOVES,
INJURES, ALTERS, DEFACES OR IMPERILS
A PROTECTED MONUMENT OR ANY OBJECT
OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL OR
ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST LYING AT THIS
SITE, SHALL BE PUNISHABLE UNDER LAW.
BY ORDER
DIRECTOR, STATE ARCHAEOLOGY & MUSEUMS

*The original carved wooden door of the **mosque** of **Muhammad al-Madani** at Madin **Sahib**, Srinagar.*

8.6.3 /-r/ : as by Bengali, Assamese and Hindi :
/a:ma:r/ /de:she:r/ /hama:ra/.

.4 /:t/ /d/ : as Panjabi, Dogri and some Pahari languages :
/de:sda:/ /de:se:da:/.

.5 /-ty/ /-c/ /-ts/ : as by Marathi :
/Ra:ni:ca / /amtsa/.

.6 /-y/ /-j : as by Sindhi :
/mohenjo:/ /minjo/.

Most of the luxuries and many of the so-called comforts of life are not only not indispensable, but positive hindrances to the elevation of mankind.

—H. D. Thoreau

Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty, as we understand it.

—Lincolin

An open foe may prove a curse but a pretended friend is worse.

—John Gay

Pen-portrait of a Kashmiri

(As delineated by Kalhana) (*)

Prof. K. N. Dhar

Indigenous rule at times changed hands with foreign domination. Intrigue, treason and lust reigned supreme in the royal courts (of Kashmir). To all these, Kashmiris reacted in a most stoical way.

As has been said earlier, Kalhana is concerned only with the rise and fall of kings and people at large have been left untouched by him. However, the mercurial fate of kings which at times smiled at them and at times frowned also, has afforded sufficient opportunities to him to study the behaviour and character of his countrymen.

The most noteworthy trait of Kashmiri character is its tolerance and catholicity. There are numerous examples in his chronicle to show that Buddhist Viharas and Stupas were built side by side with Visnu and Siva temples. The great conqueror Lalitaditya though himself a Vaisnava erected a massive Buddhist Vihara at his newly built capital Parihasapura(1). Even though the king professed a certain faith, his ministers or people could subscribe freely to any other faith. King Avantivarman was a Vaisnava but his minister Sura was a Saiva and there was no tension between the two on this score (2). Even the Kashmiri rulers did not hesitate to appoint ministers of foreign descent and foreign faith (3). Cankuma, the Turk, was the minister of Lalitaditya Mukhtapida. The secular outlook towards life was ever present in Kashmir even in those hoary days. These foreigners like Khasas, Bombas, Truskas, Dards and Bhautiyas etc. were free to practise their own faith and if they felt impressed by Hindu or Buddhist outlook on life and embraced one of these, there was no compulsion in this behalf. Not a single communal trouble is mentioned by Kalhana in his chronicle. The catholicity of Kashmiri can very faithfully be proved by the existence of Turuska-Raja Bhairava a Saiva shrine at the new colony Narsinghgarh, Srinagar. As the name conclusively suggests the foreign Turk has been made into a Bhairava (4) and is being propitiated even now regularly. The foreign kings like Huska, Juska, and Kanishka, ruled over the country and have left their name in the annals of Kashmir by founding cities after their names (5).

Kashmiris according to him are also fatalists of highest order. They ascribe all their woes and blisses to the unseen and unknown Fata

Perhaps this trait in their character has to a large extent deprived them of their initiative, but at the same time has also afforded them calm composure at the changes which so frequently took place at that time :

> "He (guru Isana) was amazed and thought how this would come about. Pondering for long, he said (to himself) that the power of fate is unpredictable" (6).

The people of Kashmir were so much enthralled by this unseen Power of fate that Kalhana advocates "fate is the mine of all miracles"(7)

The firm belief in what is ordained already has been illustrated eloquently thus by him :

> "The lightning of good fortune, the crane of fame, the thunder of bravery and the rainbow of glory come in the wake of the cloud of fate" (8).

As natural corollary to the above trait, Kashmiri character has given belief in the Divine retribution. Evil-doer can in no way reap a harvest of virtue. Only good actions can be rewarded and bad deeds will receive punishment sooner or later. There is no escape from this :

> "Cursed by the oppressed subjects, the king's (Sanker Varman's) who was taking evil path, some twenty or thirty sons died suddenly without being ill" (9).

The Kashmiri subjects being powerless before a tyrant invoked the Divine wrath over him and felt gratified to see that such despots fleecing their subjects did lose family, life, name, and even glory (10).

Since good deeds are rewarded, hence the Kashmiris have all along been charitable—this being a good deed, helping the needy. The importance of charity has been extolled and consequently practised. Alms-giving has been stressed in *Niti Shastras* as well as in *Mahabharata* also, and is a vital ingredient of Hindu culture. Kalhana says that even if wealth be got through fraud one becomes righteous when it is given in charity (11).

As a matter of fact people's revolt has never taken place because of the passiveness of Kashmiris.

The kings often sucked blood from their subjects who were already groaning under the weight of their abject poverty. Moreover, the favourites of kings exploited them to their fill. Perhaps Kashmiris drew satisfaction from the Fatalism and the Divine retribution present in their character.

Idigenous rule at times changed hands with foreign domination. Intrigue, treason and lust reigned supreme in royal courts. To all this the Kashmiris reacted in a most stoical way. Whenever counter conspiracies are hatched, it is not the Kashmiri but a foreigner finding favour with the king. Sometimes revolutions of far-reaching consequences rocked their native land, but they sat with fingers crossed. This clearly shows that they did not feel any sense of participation with the elite or high-ups in society. Hence Kalhana very faithfully draws this picture of idle and indifferent crowds in the bazars when the fate of their own Motherland hung in balance.

The indifferent crowds without any feelings whatsoever looked at their king fighting with his contenders at the head of the bridge, as if it was a horse-show on the first day of Asvin Month (12).

In view of such a pacifist and indifferent attitude to life, Kashmiri character has obviously been non-militant. Inflicting injury on others could not be in their blood, as they believed in Divine retribution. Violence in any form cannot be termed as a noble act; being essentially an evil action the Kashmiris refrained from indulging in such actions. Absence of militant traits in their character has given ample opportunities to Kalhana to jeer at his own countrymen :—

> Canga etc. who were the confidents and advisers of Tunga became dumb-founded with terror like women, though being armed (13).

Consequently, Kashmiri soldiery was undependable and the kings had to employ mercenaries from fighting clans in the adjoining areas. The people detested war and fighting, and when a foreign army came to invade them they felt despondent. They could never think of giving it a fight :—

> "At the sight of a hostile army the people felt their bodies aching as if paralysed by the sudden appearance of untimely clouds, (hence) their energy began to give way" (14).

A Kashmiri could never be a spendthrift inasmuch as he had to provide for the rainy day. Such "rainy days" were legion in his time in the shape of famines, sieges and invasions. So, he is calculating in expenditure and does not waste his hard-earned money. Even the kings learnt the utility of such sise-spending.

> "(King Uccala) a Kashmiri as he was, did not invest his riches in building and dismantling palaces time and again, or purchasing horses only to make these a part of the dust or the (booty of the) robbers' (respectively),, (15).

These pages have most succinctly brought into relief the claims of Kalhana as a chronicler. Since he is the first to initiate this from the literary writing in Sanskrit, yet, as has been shown he is humble and does not brag about his prowess in this field. He may not touch the high water-mark of historical attitude of mind but is also very alive to his shortcomings at the same time. All the criticism that is levelled against him does not ruffle him. Yet when everything is said no better tribute than this could be paid to the denizens of this land of "learning, palacial houses, saffron, icy water and grapes difficult to find in heavens even"(16), as has been done by their compatriot Kalhana for their piety and spiritual attainments :

> "The inhabitants of this country can be conquered only by spiritual force and never by brute force of weapons. Hence they have fear of the other world only" (17).

(*) Excerpts from the Research Paper entiled "Kalhana the Chronicler" by the author.

1. Rajat. V-45
2. Rajat. 1V-211
3. Rajat. 1V-142-143
4. A form of Shiva
5. Rajat. I-168
6. Rajat. II-92
7. Rajat. II-94
8. Rajat. VII-1455
9. Rajat. V-210
10. Rajat. V-211
11. Rajat. IV-701
12. Rajat. VII-1551
13. Rajat. VII-87
14. Rajat. VIII-2262
15. Rajat. VIII-73
16. Rajat. 1-42
17. Rajat. 1-39

The profession of the law is the only aristocratic element which can be amalgamated without violence with natural elements of democracy...... I cannot believe that a Republic could subsist if influence of lawyers in public business did not increase in proportion to the power of the people.

—De Toqqueville

A Note on the Bhairava Image Found at Village Wokai-Kulgam

Jawahar Lal Bhan

Occasional and trial excavations at the various sites in the Valley have pushed back the antiquity of Bhairva in plastic art to very remote times.

> "Worthy of homage is the indescribable insight of the gifted *artist* (of Kashmir) which excels the steam of Ambrosia since through it is achieved a permanent embodiment of glory by the *artist* and others as well. Who else, is capable of making vivid before ones eyes pictures of a bygone age barring the *artist* and the Creator who create naturally delightful productions ?"
>
> *Kalhana*

Kashmir is "full of sculptures". This statement is corroborated by the finds of numerous stone images of great artistic beauty from different corners of the Valley. The right stretch of the Valley starting from Nila Naga, modern Verinag, upto Tetha Mandir at Uri is very rich with archaeological treasures in the form of temples, mounds, sites etc. which preserve the cultural heritage of Kashmir.

Devsar, in Kulgam area adjacent to Nila Naga, has brought Kashmir on the map of bronzes with the discovery of the bronze frame which is excellent and an iconographical masterpiece of Kashmiri art. This area has yielded very rich remains of archaeological interest from time to time by way of erosions or by the spade.

Kulgam, in ancient times, was the centre of Kulmargins. Goddess Kulvagishwari (a family deity) is presumed to have appeared in this area and the modern Kulgam has retained its name after this deity in a derivative form.

Brahma, Visnu and Siva constitute the triad of Puranic Brahmanism. According to the tradition Brahma is the Creator, Visnu the Preserver and Siva the Destroyer. In Kashmir two most important Brahmanical sects developed around Visnu and Siva while Brahma remained less worshipped. This being the reason only few images of Brahma are available while the images of Visnu and Siva are found in abundance in Kashmir.

Since the scope of the note is confined to the Bhairava aspect of Siva, we shall deal here only with this.

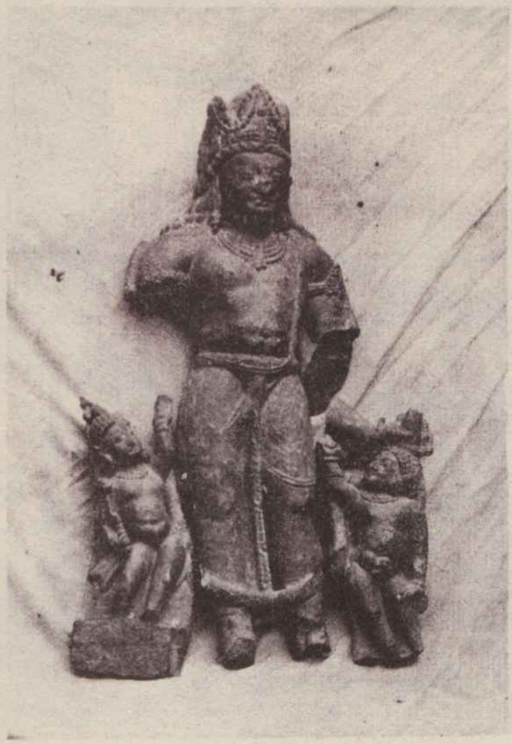
The Siva-Purana regards Siva as performing the triple functions of creation, protection and destruction. The Rajtarangini gives a comprehensive picture of the Saivite temples erected by various kings of Kashmir from time to time. The images from these monuments and sites are both in the Linga or Phallic form or in anthro-morphic form. Siva in anthro-morphic form in Kashmir is shown single-headed, two-headed, three-headed and sometimes four-headed. There seems thus no doubt that originally the multi-headed form of Siva was derived from Kushana iconography as in most of the Kushana coins Siva is depicted with three heads. The three head sare of Uma, the Aghora and the central one the human head.

The cult of Bhairava was very popular in Kashmir during early periods. Recent explorations and trial excavations in the nook and corner of the Valley have pushed back the antiquity of the representation of Bhairava in plastic art to very remote times .The earliest Bhairava image datable to 6th Century A. D. was found at Martand during the course of trial excavations by the Archaeological Survey of India. The image is in terracotta (black water) four-armed, single-headed and measures 6x10 Cms. Bhairava images single-headed or in the Mahesh-murti have been found in Kashmir from various sites like Pandrethan, Payar etc. The unique image of Bhairava four-headed holding in his surviving hands sun and moon, Akash-mala.Kamandala dating back to 7th Century A. D. deserves special mention (from Baramullah. The Svachchanda Bhairava images developed very late as no image prior to 17th-Century A.D. is forthcoming. This deity represents Panch-Krityas of Siva Philosophy and mostly depicted on the memorial stones and some paintings of Kashmir. The find of the image identified as Bhairava, under discussion, should not thus surprise the art lovers. The image was found accidently at the village Wokai, 6 Kms. from Kulgam on Kulgam-Shopian road by the inhabitants while digging earth for laying bricks. Wokai is a small village surrounded by Batapora, Mahipora on two sides and Niloo and Tsawalgam on the other sides. Amidst the village is a small elevated mound about 8 to 9 feet high from the surrounding ground and the image was found on the southern end of the mound. The image is four armed, single-headed. The image is broken and missing from the ankles. The figure wears a tiara-peaked crown which is studded with the pearls forming two crescents. The hair is held by the crown and the extra hair is falling in ringlets in a balanced manner on the two shoulders of the image. The image being of Siva-Bhairava is evident from the presence of two tusks coming out from the two extremes of his mouth and the presence of the third eye. The nose is slightly damaged and the eyes and eye brows of the deity also contribute to his being semi-ferocious, ie., Bhairava. The image has elongated ears fitted with ornaments akin to Pandrethan images. The image wears two necklaces one a beaded and the other composed of three rows of beads fitted at the centre with a square shaped pearl. The Bhairava wears a holy thread, ornated armlets, wristlets as is evident from the only surviving hand of the image and a belt of pearls which support the lower garment of image. The Bhairava wears a Dhoti which exposes his major portion of left leg as is evident from the border of the same. The right leg is robed completely upto the ankles. The robe looks to be very thin and is reminiscent of the late Gupta drapery. The Bhairava wears a Vanamala which falls right upto his ankles. Vanamala is distinctive usually of Visnu but in Kashmir the Siva figures are also adorned with this Vanamala. The upper two hands which are broken and missing might have held the Akash-mala, and Ambrosia while the lower two hands are placed on Ayudhapurushas. The left side depicts a small figure standing wearing circular Kundalas, a beaded necklace, wristlets and the lower garment Kachabandha, the streamers of which are exposed on two sides. The right hand of the figure is holding a fan while the left hand is placed on its left thigh. The Urdha-Iinga like object may be the knot of the Kachabandha. From his head emerges the end of the staff which is held by the Bhairava. Corresponding to this figure on the right side of the image is another Ayudhapurusha wearing the circular Kundals, a beaded necklace, wristlets. His left hand is raised upwards in adoration of the master while the right holds fly-whisk. This figure may represent the Trisula Purusha-personification of trident an emblem of Bhairava-. The back of the Bhairava image is also carved and depicts a ferocious face. The face is damaged but from the surviving portion the face has bulging eyes, swollen nostrills, grinning mouth from which two tusks are emerging. The neck seems to have been adorned with a beaded necklace. This face is more intriguing as the front face is repeated again on the back side in a more ferocious way. Normally, we have come across Bhairava three-headed and sometimes the fourth head is also carved depicting a ferocious head. The image under discussion is a solitary example where the Bhairava who is also depicted in a ferocious manner bears another face on the back. This is in fact a deviation in the normal iconography of this figure and the sculptor has been more inspired by putting another face on the back as usually seen in the Visnu figures. The height of the image is 54 Cms. and is broken into three parts. The figure is stylistically datable to 9th Century A.D. The presence of the two lotuses above the two ears is usually found on Bodhisattva images from Parihaspur. Later on this was introduced to the Brahmanical images in Kashmir also and later on the sculptors made this as an integral part of the Mukat as is observed in the later sculptures from Verinag. The dating is further collaborated with the development of the Mukata (crown) and the hair style. During the 9th Century A. D. Kashmir art had attained perfection.

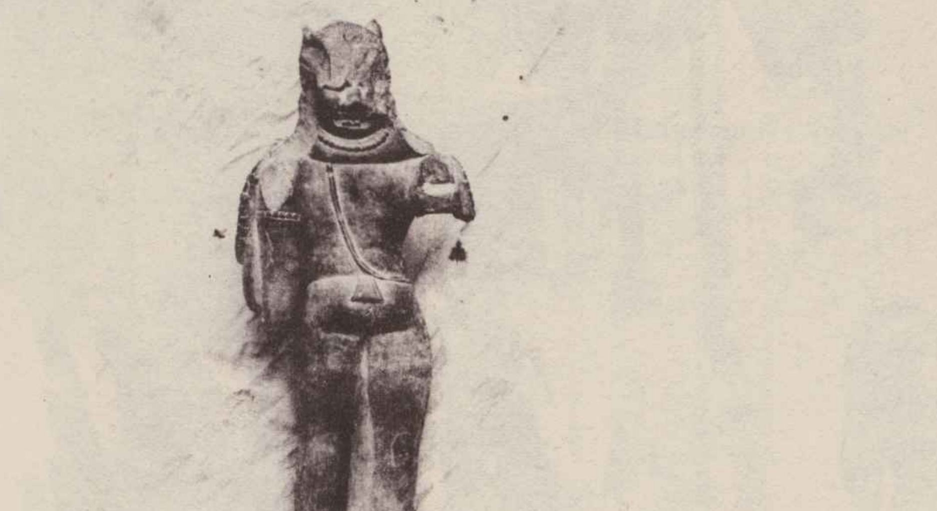
The image discovered, now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, is a rare find and a unique sculpture combining the Ghora with Aghora form of Siva-Bhairava with the two Ayudhapurushas. No such figure has so far been found in the Valley.

Study the past if you would divine the future.

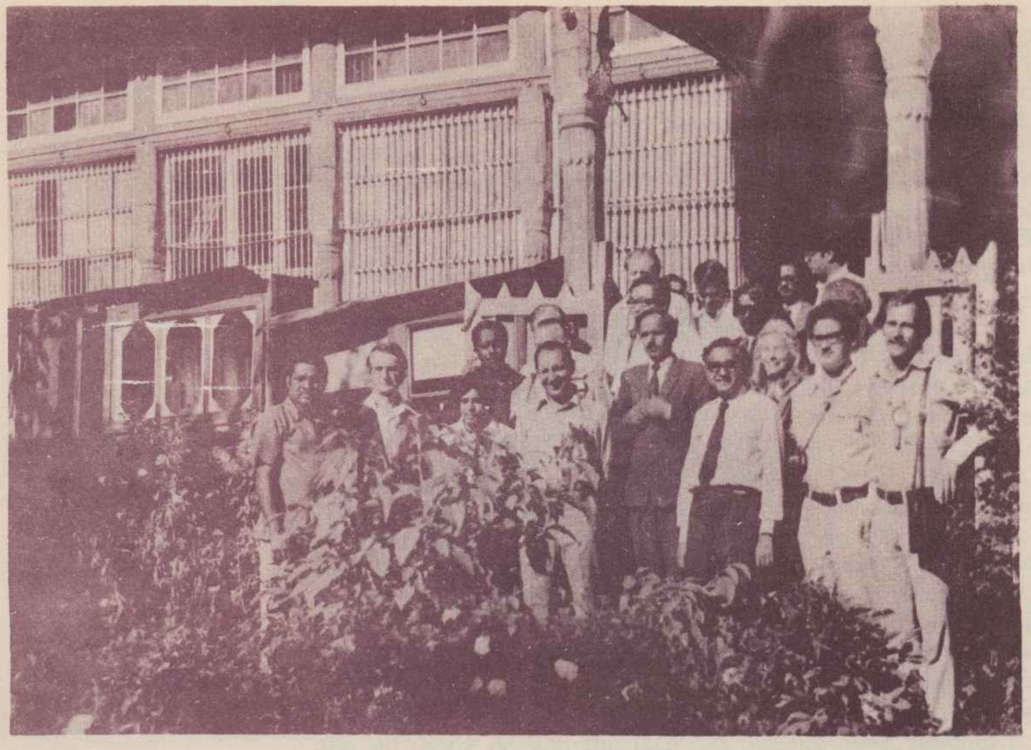
—Confucius



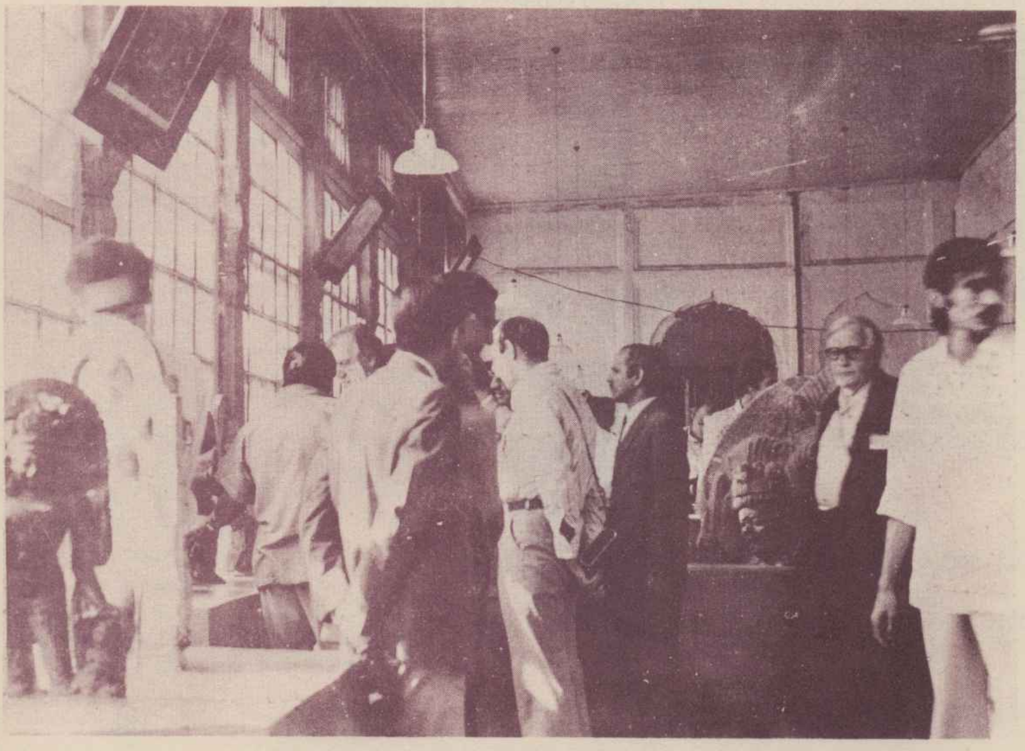
Front view of the standing Bhairava image found at village Wokai, Kulgam, now in S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.



Back view of the image of Bhairava discovered at Wokai, Kulgam.



The World Geologists' visit to S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, with Dr. Iqbal in the Centre.



Geologists admiring the cultural heritage of Kashmir in S.P.S. Museum.

SILENCE

"It has often occurred to me that a seeker after Truth has to be silent. I know the wonderful efficacy of silence. I visited a Trappist monastery in South Africa. A beautiful place it was. Most of the inmates of that place were under a vow of silence. I inquired of the Father the motive of it and he said the motive is apparent. "We are frail human beings. We do not know very often what we say. If we want to listen to the still small voice that is always speaking within us, it will not be heard if we continually speak". I understood that precious lesson I know the secret of silence.

Experience has taught me that silence is part of the spiritual discipline of a votary of Truth. Proveness to exaggerate, to suppress or modify the truth, willingly or unwillingly, is a natural weakness of man, and silence is necessary in order to surmount it. A man of few words will rarely be thoughtless in his speech, he will measure every word.

Silence has now become both a physical and spiritual necessity for me. Originally it was taken to relieve the sense of pressure. Then I wanted time for writing. After, however, I had practised it for sometime I saw the spiritual value of it. It suddenly flashed across my mind that that was the time when I could best hold communion with God. And now I feel as though I was naturally built for silence."

—Mahatma Gandhi.

Jamia Masjid, Srinagar

Ghulam Mohammad

When Aurangzeb heard of the burning of Jama Masjid in 1674, his first inquiry was whether the Chinars (of the mosque) were safe.

In the fifth century, A. D., King Parversena (421-476 A. D.) completed the construction of his new capital (modern Srinagar). He built numerous temples and Tirthas throughout the length and breadth of the Valley where people could worship and pray. One of the Tirthas was Maheshwari which remained in its hey-days upto the beginning of 14th Century. In 1374 A.D. Mir Sayyid Ali of Hamadan paid a visit to the Valley in the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-Din and stayed upto the accession of Sultan Skinder, dubbed un-necessarily as "Iconoclast". An idea of construction of Jamia Masjid occurred to the king for daily worship and congregational prayers. The king suggested the present site of Mazar-i-Salatin where water was available as the most suitable place for Jamia Masjid. His wise queen, however, suggested the vacant land of Maheshwari close to her residential palace. Accordingly, the construction of Jamia Masjid started in 1398 A.D. in consultation with Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani. Plans and estimates were prepared by the great engineer of the day, Sayid Mohammad Sadr-ud-Din, who was invited by Sultan Sikander to his court from Khurasan. He planned a mosque which could accommodate 40,000 worshippers at a stretch. The king approved the plan and the Great Mosque was completed in 1405 A.D.

Jamia Masjid has a history of its own. Lawrence believed that the Mosque stood on a land which was sacred to Buddhists of Ladakh. They gave it their own name Tsisung Tsublak Kang and the Masjid until late 19th century was called Bado Masjid and not Jamia Masjid. Some people opine that it was a Buddhist temple on the ground and the walls bore pictures of Buddhist saints. A few other historians say that the Bado Masjid was called Bota Masjid and was somewhere below the 'castle hill of Srinagar'.

After the death of Sultan Sikander his son and successor Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin made additions and alterations in the Mosque. He opened and constructed a grand seminary to the North of it where Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit could be taught. Qazi Mir Mohammad Ali of Bukhara was appointed its Principal and the revenue of four Jagirs was assigned to the School for its up-keep and maintenance. To make it more magnificent and beautiful a canal named afterwards Zaina Khul was constructed whose source was at Ganderbal and the water was brought to the Mosque through the Eastern entrance and fed the large tank in the internal compound. This canal was called Lachmi Khul but it fell into disuse after 1903 A.D. when Srinagar water works system was instituted by the State Government. The used or extra water from the tank flowed down a small ornamental stone chuk and then passed through the channel leaving the mosque by an underground passage in the western wall. After the meandering course of a quarter of a mile the pretty little rill now replaced by the usual gutters empties itself into the Mar canal at Kadi Kadal.

The Jamia Mosque has passed through many vicissitudes, Zain-ul-Abidin constructed four tall minars and made the inner compound of the Mosque 254′ wide and 334′ long planting the Chinars round it. The tradition assigns these changes to Sultan Hassan Shah. During his reign there occurred a serious conflagration in the neighbourhood of Jamia Masjid in the Mohalla Nowhatta (Sikander Pora) and it could not escape from the calamity. Sultan Hassan Shah re-constructed the Mosque but unfortunately he died before completing the work. After his death his son Haider Shah who ascended the throne in 1490 A. D. resumed the construction and completed some portions of it in three years. The Commander-in-Chief of the then Kashmir Army, Malik Ibrahim Magrey, a native of Trehgam, built the roof and walls around it out of his private purse. He decorated the inside of it with the Chinars and removed the houses around it to a distance of 50 feet.

During the reign of Sultan Yaqub, Zain-ul-Abidin's great grandson, Mir Mohammad Hamadani completed the roofs of its Mosque and appointed Qazi Habibullah, a great theologian, as its Imam. Soon after the annexation of Kashmir in 1586 A.D. Emperor Akbar summoned 200 artisans from Central Asia to execute work of renovation and beautification of the Mosque. In 1621 A. D., a great fire in Nowhatta broke out and Jamia Masjid was burnt on Id-ul-Fitr day together with 12,000 houses. At this time Emperor Jahangir was in Kashmir and himself took part in extinguishing the flames. He ordered its immediate reconstruction under the able guidance and supervision of historian-architect Rais-ul-Mulk, Haider Malik of Chadora. Jahangir appointed Mulla Jafri as its percepter with adequate emoluments and ordered the construction of a tank in the middle of the compound. This was completed in seven years. Shah Jahan incised his proclamation on a stone fixed on the Southern gate of the Mosque which depicts how people were freed from exorbitant taxes imposed by the Mughal Governors.

During Aurangzeb's time again in 1674 A. D., Jamia Masjid was gutted owing to a great fire starting with Mohalla Kavdara. Aurangzeb heard of the accident, his first inquiry was whether the Chinars were safe. He said, the mosque could be rebuilt in a short time but a big Chinar could not be replaced. He enlisted the services of all the brick-layers and masons in the city and had the Mosque completed within three years. It is evident from the structure itself as well as from the historical records that the Mughals adhered to the plan of original mosque of Sultan Sikander. Aurangzeb decorated the minars with silver crests and it cost him five thousand dinars. He simultaneously ordered the erection of a ladder of 75 steps which lead to Minars. From Aurangzeb's time down to 1914 A. D., the structural history of the Mosque forms a record of steady decay.

Subsequently, Kashmir became a part of Afghanistan and fell into wild disorder. "This rule", says Lawrence, "was a brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good works, chivalry or honour". The mosque was twice repaired slightly by Haji Karim Dad Khan in 1790 A. D. and the second time by S. Azad Khan in 1803 A. D. During the sixty-nine years of Pathan rule Jamia Masjid was neglected and at times the repairs were executed out of the rents received from shops around it. In 1819 A. D. Kashmir passed under the sway of Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. The Mosque was closed and the doors blocked for 25 years under the orders of Diwan Moti Ram in 1821 A. D. Its Jagirs were confiscated and subsidy was stopped. Later a deputation of Kashmiri Muslims was lead under the leadership of Maulvi Amir-ud-Din and Maulvi Nasir-ud-Din Wazpuri who submitted a memorandum to Sher Singh who ordered the then Kashmir Governor, Sheikh Mohi-ud-Din, to open the Mosque and hand it over to the Muslims. The Sheikh initiated its repairs spending a lakh of rupees on the same. After the treaty of Amritsar (1846) Gulab Singh of Jammu ordered the affairs of Jamia Masjid to be put off indefinitely. His successor, Ranbir Singh, allowed opening of the Mosque only on Fridays. A construction Committee consisting of Khawaja Rahim Shah, Gafoor Shah Naqashbandi and Azim Drabu was formed who collected a huge amount for its repairs and Maharaja Ranbir Singh granted six thousand rupees but due to Shia Sunni conflict in 1870 A.D. the plan of the Mosque was kept in abeyance and some of the members of the Committee were arrested and deported. It will be remembered that on Fridays the market round Jamia Masjid would serve the purpose of a trading centre. The District Magistrate of the time, Wazir Panoo, planned the closure of the market and instead opened Maharajgunj as trading place in 1891 A. D. Khwaja Rahim Shah approached the Maharaja for further grant who sanctioned nine thousand rupees and out of this grant Lachmi Khul was repaired. Early this century a construction committee was reconstituted under the Chairmanship of Bakshi Parmanand with Maulvi Rasul Shah and Samad Joo Kukroo (of Baramulla) as its members who donated thirteen thousand rupees. However, the process of decay could not be arrested. Thanks to Sheikh Maqbool Hussain, a former Revenue Minister, with whose efforts the Mosque was restored to its status. He raised subscription from among the zamindars of the Valley. The technical advice was given by Mr. A.A. Fraser, the State Engineer and the work of reconstruction was given to an English contractor Mr. Thad Advery. The grandeur of Jamia Masjid lies in its four cloisters each about hundred twenty yards in length supported by the high pillars of deodar wood and its spacious quadrangle. When Lawrence visited the Mosque in the eighties of the last century he found that the pillars of deodar were obtained from the Jungles of Tashwan, Srinagar. The present compound is bisected by the broad paths planned according to the pattern of Mughal Gardens.

The Mosque is one of those distinct and lasting legacies which have come down to the Muslims of the Valley from their forefathers. It is a monument worth preserving and a great symbol of human skill and understanding directed towards a unique spiritual end.

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And they who for their country die shall fill an honoured grave. For glory lights the solider's tomb, and beauty weeps the brave.

—J.R. Drake

The only freedom which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it.

—John Stuart Mill

Dogra Army Won Laurels on Battle-Fronts

S. P. Sharma

Auchinleck to Wavel: "Jammu and Kashmir Mountain Battery acquitted itself with great distinction in recent Damascus fighting" (World War 1939-45).

The Dogra Army always fought bravely on all battle-fronts and won laurels for itself. It was considered an asset by the British Government, and it maintained its tradition even after the British left.

During the war of 1914-18, Jammu and Kashmir topped the list of Indian States in the matter of recruitment to the British Army. Over 51,000 men were recruited from the State. In addition the regular army of the State fought in many war theatres. The expenditure of the State on the maintenance of troops sent overseas amounted to over a crore of rupees. Battle Honours were won by the Ist Kashmir Pack Battery, Ist Kashmir Raghu Pratap Battalion, the 2nd Kashmir Body-Guard Rifle Battalion, and the 3rd Kashmir Raghu Pratap Battalion for their gallantry on several fronts of war in East Africa and Palestine. The State has played a still more glorious part in the Second World War.

Before hostilities broke out between Great Britain and Germany in September 1939, His late Highness Maharaja Hari Singh had offered to place at the disposal of His late Majesty the King Emperor his personal services and the resources of the State. Maharaja Hari Singh earmarked the services of two units of the State Forces for the Government of India and issued orders recalling all army officers who were then on leave. A state of emergency was also declared for the army.

Maharaja Hari Singh appealed to his subjects to get themselves enrolled in the Army. The appeal had a significant response. Thousands of volunteers poured forth during all these years from all parts of the State to join active service.

During the War, eight units of the State Army were placed at the disposal of the Government of India for military service outside the State.

In 1942, Maharaja Hari Singh offered the two Mountain Batteries serving outside the State and the Artillery Training Centre for incorporation as permanent units of the Indian Army. Both these offers were gratefully accepted by the Viceroy and the transfer took effect from Ist October, 1942.

After intensive training in British India, in October 1939, the Ist Jammu and Kashmir Mountain Battery had sailed overseas to join the forces in the Middle East. It first performed active service in the Sudan, on the eastern frontier of Abyssinia, where it helped in repelling the Italian advance and chasing the enemy across the frontier. Later, it moved to the eastern front and took part in the conquest of Eritrea, and in particular distinguished itself in the battle of Keran and the capture of Asmara. Lt. General Heath, Commander of the Division with whom the Battery served, broadcast from Delhi, describing the services of the Battery at the battle of Keran as "invaluable". On the conclusion of these campaigns, the Battery was sent to Palestine where it took part in the invasion of Syria and again distinguished itself in the battle of Damascus.

General Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Forces in the Middle East conveyed his personal appreciation of the work of the Battery to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of India, General Sir Archibald Wavel, who while adding his own appreciation, conveyed it telegraphically to His late Highness in the following terms :—

> "I am very happy to be able to send your Highness an extract from a telegram received from General Auchinleck. It begins, Jammu and Kashmir Mountain Battery acquitted itself with great distinction in recent Damascus fighting. Divisional Commander commends highly its steadiness under enemy artillery fire and the accuracy of its own fire supporting the British Infantry. Message ends. General Auchinleck adds his own personal appreciation. I would like to offer my best congratulations and wish your Highness and your State Forces every success in the future".

The 2nd Jammu and Kashmir Mountain Battery and the four Infantry Battalions which for sometime remained on the North-West Frontier, took part in actions against hostile tribesmen.

The 4th Jammu & Kashmir Infantry joined the 5th Indian Division in Burma just before the capture of Tiddim. Leading the attacks on Vital Corner, Kennedy Peak and Fort White. This Battalion also participated in the famous advance from Tiddim.

Battle Honours

Sixty-five subjects of His late Highness serving the State and the British Indian forces were decorated for gallantry in the field of battle. The decorations won by them included : Victoria Cross I, Indian Order of Merit 2, Military Cross 7, Distinguished Flying Cross I, Indian Distinguished Service Medal 14, M.B.E. (Military) 2, O.B.I. 4, and Military Medal 32.

The Gilgit Samghatasutra in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar

Dr. O. V. Hinuber.

Samghatasutra, had a great appeal to Buddhists. It expounds in two dialogues between the Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas the different ways of religious merit without the slightest touch of philosophy.

Among the treasures of the S.P.S. Museum there are four Buddhist manuscripts and some fragments found near Gilgit in 1938. I had the opportunity to go through these manuscripts in September 1976 and to take photographs of them for my edition of the *Samghatasutra* in Sanskrit and Khotanese Saka, which is under preparation. Before giving some details about these still very little known manuscripts, it is a most pleasant duty for me to thanks Dr. S.M. Iqbal, Director of Libraries, Research, Museums and Archaeology in Jammu and Kashmir for his kind permission to inspect these most important manuscripts, and to thank Curator of the S.P.S. Museum and his staff, who tried to make my work a success.

In the report on the excavations, which brought to light these manuscripts, by M.S. Kaul Shastri : Report on the Gilgit Excavations in 1938, In: *Quarterly Journal* of the Mythic Society 30. 1939. 1—12 very few photos showing about a dozen pages of the *Samghatasutra* are accessible. Three decades later, P. Bannerjee wrote an article on the covers of these manuscripts, "Painted wooden covers of two Gilgit manuscripts, In Oriental Arts (NS) 14. 1968. 114-118. As this scanty information is all that is available at present on the Kashmir-Gilgit manuscripts, it may be useful to give a short, but preliminary description here.

Manuscript A :

121 leaves measuring 26,5cm to 6,5-7,5 cm. The hole is 9 cm from the left margin. On every page there are 6-8 lines of writing. Leaves nos. 1,120, 121 are shown on photo 1433 in Kaul's report. The manuscript is complete but for the lacking leaf 18. There is no leaf no. 82, but no. 81 occurs twice by mistake of the scribe. The writing is the square variety of the Gilgit script.

Manuscript B:

Incomplete, 64 leaves: 2,3,4,6,7,9,10-18,20,22-25,27,28,29,30,32-35,38, 39,40,42,44,45,48,50(recto only),51-56,58,61,63,-67,70,72,74,84-89,90-93. Leaf no. 96 does not belong to the *Samghatasutra,* but to some unidentified text. The *Samghatasurtra* should end on page no. 94. There is a second leaf numbered as 65, which contains the end of a text, as the colophon "*hiranyavati nama dharani samaptam*" (sic) occurs on this leaf. The leaves measure 28, 5 cm to 7.5 cm. The hole is 8 cm from the left margin. On every page there are usually 6 lines of writing. Photo 1439 in Kaul's report shows this manuscript. The writing is the round variety of the Gilgit script

Manuscript C:

91 leaves, nos. 1-102. The pagination leaps from 85 to 96 by mistake of the scribe. No. 19 occurs twice with different text. Nos. 36,45 are lost. The leaves measure 23 cm to 8,5 cm. The hole is 7 cm-7,5 cm from the left margin. On every page there are usually 9 lines of writing. The writing is the round variety of the Gilgit script. No photo is available.

A fourth manuscript mentioned by Kaul in his report and called by him "Aryadharma" is written on palm-leaf in the round variety of the Gilgit script. It is the only manuscript from Gilgit known to me to be written on palm leaf, the usual writing material being either birch-bark or the so-called clay-coated paper. The leaves of this manuscript measure 20 cm to 4.5 cm. Some have one hole 7 cm from the left margin, some two, the second one being 15.5cm from the left margin. Not very much can be said about its content. The fact that some leaves have one, some two holes rather points to two different manuscripts. As nearly all pages are badly rubbed, cf. photo 1438 in Kaul's report-it is not very easy to read the text written in the round variety of the Gilgit script. Thus very little can be guessed at present about the content of those 55 leaves. A first hint is given by the name of the Bodhisattva Vajrapani occurring fairly often, by the description of the four ways to find a *kalyanamitra,* and by the phrase "*malasya(?) tathagatasya dharmaparyayasya*".

Besides these manuscripts there are numerous fragments, which need a more detailed study. 51 major fragments have been put between transparent paper and are neatly bound in two books. Some fragments bear page numbers (56,59,61-64). The text which has yet to be indentified, has at least five chapters as the phrase "*pa(?)sya parivarto nama trtiyo*" and "*sadhiparivartasya pamcamah*" occurs, the title unfortunately being broken away. These fragments are written in the round variety of the Gilgit script.

Returning to the Samghatasutra it may be said, that this text known up to the beginning of this century in Tibetan and Chinese translations only, must have been once extremely popular in North West India as well as in parts of Central Asia. A Central Asian translation of the Samghatasutra brought this text to the attention of scholars, when Erst Leumann long ago was able to identify some fragments of Khotanese Saka texts as belonging to the *Samghatasutra.* In consequence the first book dealing with this text was the edition of the Khotanese fragments together with there Tibetan parallel and a translation by Sten Konow in 1930 called "Saka Studies".

It was only very few years later, that the first Sanskrit version of the *Samghatasutra* was found in Gilgit. These four manuscripts are now preserved in the National Archives, New Delhi, where I had the opportunity to work on them in October 1967. They are described now by R.A. Gunatilaka: A short introduction to the four incomplete manuscripts of the *Samghatasutra* are kept in the National Archives, New Delhi, In: Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture 1: New Delhi 1972. This article more or less repeats the introduction to the unpublished Cambridge Ph.D., thesis of Gunatilaka, who under the guidance of Prof. Sir Harold Walter Bailey edited the Delhi manuscripts. As all these manuscripts are fragmentary-the most complete reaching only as far as page 89 of approximately 120—this edition has now to be completely renewed with the help of the Srinagar manuscripts A and C, which contain the whole text.

The impetus to study the *Samghatasutra* always came from scholars interested primarily in Khotanese Saka. As our knowledge of this Iranian language discovered and decifered at the beginning of this century only, is still far from being perfect, bilingual texts are of utmost importance for the study of Khotanese Saka. Therefore I am preparing a very much enlarged kind of second edition of Konow's Saka Studies, now using of course the Sanskrit parallel unknown to Konow instead of the Tibetan. Furthermore, in the meantime, many more fragments of the Khotanese text than those used by Konow are available. Numerous fragments could be attributed to the Samghatasutra by H. W. Bailey, some further fragments in Khotanese were found by myself to belong to the Samghatasutra. In addition to that I had the opportunity to read together with Prof. Dr. R. E. Emmerick, Hamburg, in 1974 in Leningrad the Khotanese fragments kept there in the Oriental Institute of the Academy of the USSR.

Summing up the study of this text, we have now seven Sanskrit manuscripts from Gilgit available for a critical edition. This points to an unusual popularity of the *Samghatasutra*, as normally there was only one manuscript found of one text. Evidently, the *Samghatasutra* had a great appeal to the pious Buddhist. It mainly expounds in two dialogues of the Buddha with the Bodhisattvas, Sarvasura and Bhaisajyasena the different ways of acquiring religious merit *(punya)* in a very simple language without the slightest touch of philosophy. Thus it throws, besides its importance for the study of the Khotanese language, an interesting sidelight on Buddhist piety in Gilgit and Khotan more than one thousand years ago.

Dr. Oskar von Hinuber, University of Mainz,
West Germany

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on:
therefore let use be preferred before uniformity.

—Francis Bacon

"Of these fugitives I have learnt that they are in the habit of sending supplies of money to their families, as occasion offers, by some trader or other returning to the valley; and I am told that the confidence thus placed is never abused. Surely this one fact speaks volumes in favour of the Cashmere character in regard to those two qualities which they certainly exhibit in a marked degree (considering that they are an Asiatic race) namely, honesty and loving kindness.

I never yet heard of an Englishman having had anything stolen by a Cashmeerie, and have very rarely heard of theft among themselves. In their villages, anyone who may have become incapacitated from old age or sickness, and who has no near relations to look after him, is supported by the community. In the cities, especially in Srinagar, food and money are given to all of the poor who may come to ask for them from the houses of those who are tolerably well off, on the 11th of every month, as well as on all their sacred days, and especially on the occasion of the Ede, and throughtout the month of Ramadan."

—Robert Thorp p. 69-70

"But why are they so different from the people living around them? Because they happen to live in one of the most beautiful countries on earth, and therefore other people have have coveted it. Kashmir has been conquered and reconquered by invaders, who have murdered, oppressed and ensalved their ancestors, and so ground the life and heart out of them that their better selves have been crushed. It is quite possible that if we Britishers had had to undergo what the Kashmiris have suffered in the past we might have lost our manhood. I recall instances in my own school life when boys have been severely bullied and so lost their manhood, for their better self had been crushed out of them."

—Tyndale Biscoe...79

Kishtwar : History in Brief

Dr. Sheikh Mohd. Iqbal

It is certain that the dominions of Muhammad Sojan Singh of Kishtwar extended from the area of Nagsen to Dengbuttal in length and from Chaugan to Pargana Bonju in breadth. His areas of political control were wider than any other ruler beyond his southern and western borders.

I

The District of Doda, called the rajdom of Kishtwar in its days of independence and subsequent autonomy, has had an active historical association with the rest of Kashmir. This association lasted well over six hundred years. In this short description of the old and continuous partnership between the people of the District (Kishtwar) and their parent community in the greater Valley, reference to the advent of Islam into Kashmir and its influence on the original inhabitants is not only desirable but also inevitable. However, the fertile valleys on both sides of the middle of the Chinab, can claim age-old links with the main Valley. Thus does Sir Walter R. Lawrence substantiate the said claim in his famous work *"Valley of Kashmir"* :

> South of the Valley of Kashmir amidst the great mountains, the ethnologist would find the pleasant pastoral Gaddis, and might, if native historians are to be believed, discover in the customs of the old-fashioned Hindus of Kishtwar the ancient manners and usages of the Kashmiris as they were before the dwellers of the valley were converted to Islam.

In the Kishtwar town and the areas closer to it, conversions to Islam began not less than seven hundred years before. It is quite probable that Muslim influence into the territory, south of Kashmir proper, commenced on the consolidation of Muslim power in the Punjab. The walls of separation between the greater Valley and the outer world could not be demolished even though it was thought to be inaccessible. Many were ignorant of its fine interior and natural beauty. Islam was instrumental in the removal of the impediments to a fruitful entry into central Kashmir. As the miraculous presence of Sayyid Ali Hamadani and the forceful preachings of his illustrious son, Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani won millions of people as converts to Islam, favourable conditions in the outskirts of the Valley were created by the socio-religious revolution that had set in there. Nevertheless, Kishtwar state was meant for the missionary zeal of Sayyid Shah Farid-ud-Din, the renowned saint of Baghdad. It will be agreed that as in the case of the sub-continent, the Islamic Faith entered the region of Kishtwar as a spiritual and moral force. As will be read elsewhere, spiritual connections between that region and Kashmir existed prior to the arrival of Sayyid Shah Farid.

It is perhaps within the knowledge of all the students of our history that integration as such was brought to the sub-continent of India by Muslims in two ways: political or territorial and spiritual. While some of the well-known Muslim rulers, including both the Sultans and the Mughal emperors, gave the Indians a sense of political cohesion, the religion of Islam unified them spiritually through the sufis, saints and the pious men. The influence of their faith on the masses was simpler, speedier and healthier. The ways and ideas of Islam helped transform the plain-minded subjects of the Sultans and the emperors into a remarkable society of brothers. This kind of development. reconstructional as it was in nature, went a long way in achieving an actual and effective political union of a greater part of south Asia. The message of love, amity and unity reached everywhere, transcending the artificial and insurmountable barriers between man and man, between region and region in the sub-continent.

As will be seen, Kishtwar at first accepted the spiritual supremacy of Islam when some of its influential and esteemed men were admitted into its attractive fold. Then it submitted to the political hegemony of Muslims through the independent or dependent governments of Kashmir. The strength of its Rajas gave way before the middle of the sixteenth century. After that it was politically either a part of Kashmir or its tributary or a vassal of the Mughal Empire of which Kashmir was a province. The bonds of relationship and unity between the greater Valley and Kishtwar region have been indissoluble. These were further strengthened by the ascendancy of the Kashmiri stock and its tradition, for, the superior culture of Kashmiris was welcomed by the original dwellers. Also, during the past centuries, more and more Kashmiri families immigrated into the areas of Kishtwar, Ramban, Doda and Bhadrwah.

(II)

The real political merger of the State of Kishtwar with the rest of Kashmir took place somewhere in the period when Emperor Sher Shah was reintegrating India. It is noteworthy that a few ambitious Kashmiri fugitives, namely Kaji Chak and Regi Chak prevailed upon Mirza Haider at Lahore to invade Kashmir. The Mirza did it and occupied the Valley in about 1540 (948 A. H.). Thinking that the conquest of Kashmir was incomplete without taking Kishtwar, he sent an expedition there but it did not succeed in achieving the purpose. The narrowness of the pass leading to the heart of the state and the timely device adopted by a wizzardess, caused the defeat of the Mughals, some of whom were killed and burried at what is known as the Mughal Mazar.

Mirza Haider could not keep his hold over the Valley of Kashmir. Hence the next attempt at Kishtwar was made by Sultan Ali Shah Chak in 1572 (981 A. H.). The fact that the Chaks had been able to liberate Kashmir from the Mughals must have impressed the then Raja of Kishtwar, Bahadur Singh, so that he accepted to become a tributary of the Chak Sultanate. He gave his sister, Shankar Dai's hand to the Sultan's grandson, Yaqub, and his own daughter to the Sultan himself. Thus were the political relations cemented by matrimonial alliances in the manner of the Rajputs in India. The political changes in the greater Valley (of Kashmir) and in Kishtwar, did not have any adverse effects on the private relations of Kashmir and Kishtwaris.

The internal anarchy in Kashmir certainly resulted in the establishment of Mughal paramountcy over its territories. It was Akbar who shattered the power of the Chaks, and, in 1585, annexed their dominions to their vast and mighty empire. The turn of Kishtwar came next for purely political reasons. The Chaks used that state as a base for their military activities. Emperor Akbar deputed an army to punish the turbulent elements and their supporters. Thereby he wanted to capture the very source of their strength. The Raja, probably, Bhadur Singh, son of Ganbir Singh (Ac. 997 A H.) submitted at once and promised that he would not encourage rebels in his areas. The Chak efforts to regain Kashmir did not stop and another army was despatched under one Muhammad Quli who reduced them in 1604. The next Raja, Pratap Singh (called Bhoop Singh by Najm-ud-Din) seems to have made common cause with the expelled Chaks and Emperor Jahangir was obliged to order action against the 'trouble-mongers'. The Emperor must have been disappointed on hearing about the retreat of a well-equipped force led by Mirza Haider and Khan-e-Azam. The Mughals incurred a terrible defeat. And in the skirmish with the Kishtwaris and the Chaks, a distinguished Officer, Muhammad Khan, of the Imperial army was killed by the natives.

Subsequently, the widow of Muhammad Khan vowed to avenge the wrong done to her by the Kishtwaris. Her appeal was granted by Jahangir and she—the Mughlani-appeared on the borders of Kishtwar with a large number of troops, crossing the Chinab by a rope-bridge. The Raja (Pratap Singh) escaped from the town. Though much of devastation was allowed by the victors, works or reconstruction were soon ordered in the true Mughal manner. The political supremacy that the Mughals had gained was shortlived, for, when they returned to Kashmir, Pratap Singh recaptured on his return the whole of Kishtwar territory occupied by the Imperial army. Raja Pratap was meanwhile succeeded by his son Gor Singh in 1618.

The contemporary governor of Kashmir at the time was Dilawar Khan. The emperor threatened him with punishment did he fail to annex the areas of Kishtwar for its Rajas had proved stiff-necked and the Chak activities had not ceased. Dilawar laid out a grand plan of conquest and the Mughal army made a concerted attack on Kishtwar from three sides. The Chinab was crossed at a particular place with the help of local landowner—Raja Gor Singh was obliged to surrender before the imperial arms. He was required to pay six annas in a rupee as tribute besides accepting to send his son Bhagwan Singh as a hostage to the Mughal Court.

Thus did Kishtwar state become a part of the Empire, but its Raja was allowed some amount of autonomy.At the same time a *Qazi* (or Supervisor-in-Chief) was deputed to the Gaddi of Kishtwar. We come across the names of such representatives as Abul Qasim and Hafizullah who helped the local rulers in handling their affairs efficiently. Also, the Rajas were represented at the Imperial capital either by a prince of their own family or by a trusted Muslim such as Ghiyas-ud-Din and Mahabat Khan. Similarly, as the Rajas owed allegiance to the Emperor, it became the responsibility of the Imperial Government to safeguard the autonomous status, and the rights and interests of Kishtwar and its people. This, it did many a time as in the day of Jagat Singh and Kirat Singh. It always upheld the privileges and claims of the rightful successors to the Gaddi. This was very necessary, for, had they acted otherwise, it would have endangered the interests of the Empire both in Kashmir and Kishtwar. In other words, the Mughals considered the latter as an extension of the Valley of Kashmir.

(III)

With the conversion of the Rajas of Kishtwar, the relations between the Mughals and the Kishtwaris were smoothened, and, the links between the latter and the people of Kashmir strengthened. The rulers of Kishtwar seem to have come under the influence of Islam during the period the Mughal Power had reached its height. A revolution in this respect set in on the arrival of Shah Farid Qadri into Kishtwar. Descending from the line of Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani, the reputed Shah is said to have come to that place under divine guidance. He set up his quarters in the town and through his piety, performance and preaching won innumerable converts. But the stage for actual conversion was set only after the then Raja, Jai Singh, accepted the new Dispensation. Curiously, just before his decision to join Islam, he had started tyrannising Muslim residents, settlers and travellers who were then flocking into his territory from outside, and, in particular, from Kashmir. On hearing reports of oppression, the Imperial Court called for his explanation. This was followed by a change in attitude on the part of the Raja. After his admission into the fold of Islam, Jai Singh was renamed as Bukhtyar Khan.

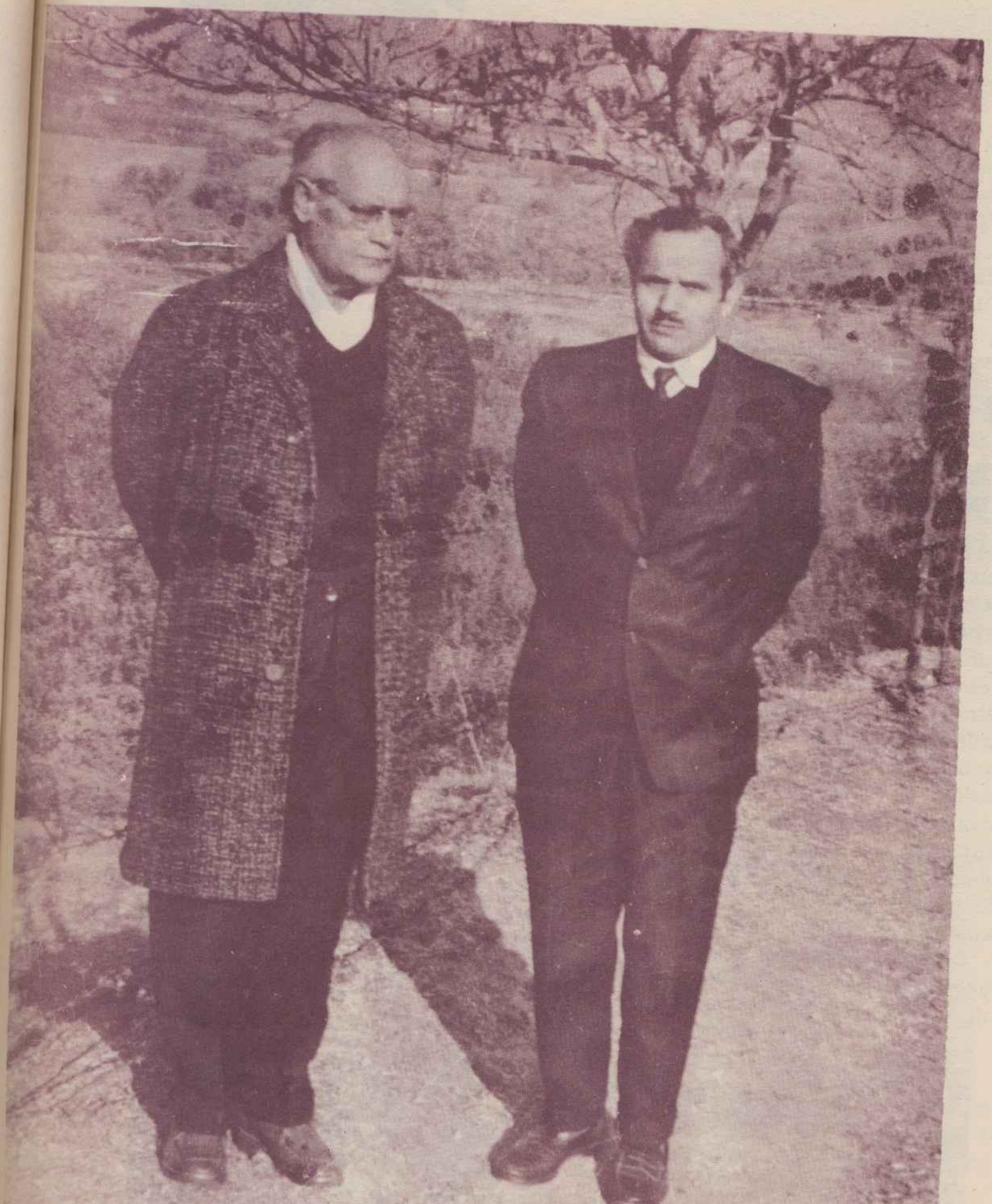
Bukhtyar Khan was succeeded by his son Kirat or Karit Singh (1664-1723) with his uncle Dindar Khan (formerly Ram Singh) as his wazir under the orders of Emperor Aurangzeb. When the Emperor visited Kashmir, Dindar Khan called on him and complained of Kirat's treatment to him. Alamgir issued a command that the Raja should abdicate. Kirat thought it to be advisable to accept Islam and save his interests and autonomy. He was rechristened as Sadatyar Khan. A fresh agreement was reached between the Raja and the Mughal representative (Abul Qasim). The agreement was confirmed by the Emperor in Shawal, 1075 A.H. The Raja undertook to protect the rights and liberty of the Muslim inhabitants of the areas in his charge.

According to Molvi Hashmatullah, the agreement referred to above produced serious repercussions among non-Muslims in Kishtwar. They revolted against Kirat Singh who crossed into Kashmir Valley either for his own safety or to secure reinforcement against the insurgents. It was on his return to Kishtwar, it believed, that he became a Muslim. This version of the story seems credible as the Raja must have, for his own reasons, regarded Islam to be a strong shield against the rebels and a real source of protection for future. Long after his conversion, Sadatyar Khan favourably responded to the proposal of the Imperial court, that Bhoop Dai, his sister, be married to prince Muhammad Shah. Before this, Emperor Alamgir himself had got the hand of a princess of Kishtwar. Bhoop Dai was granted eight *mozas* as Jagir from the areas of Kashmir including Pahalgam.

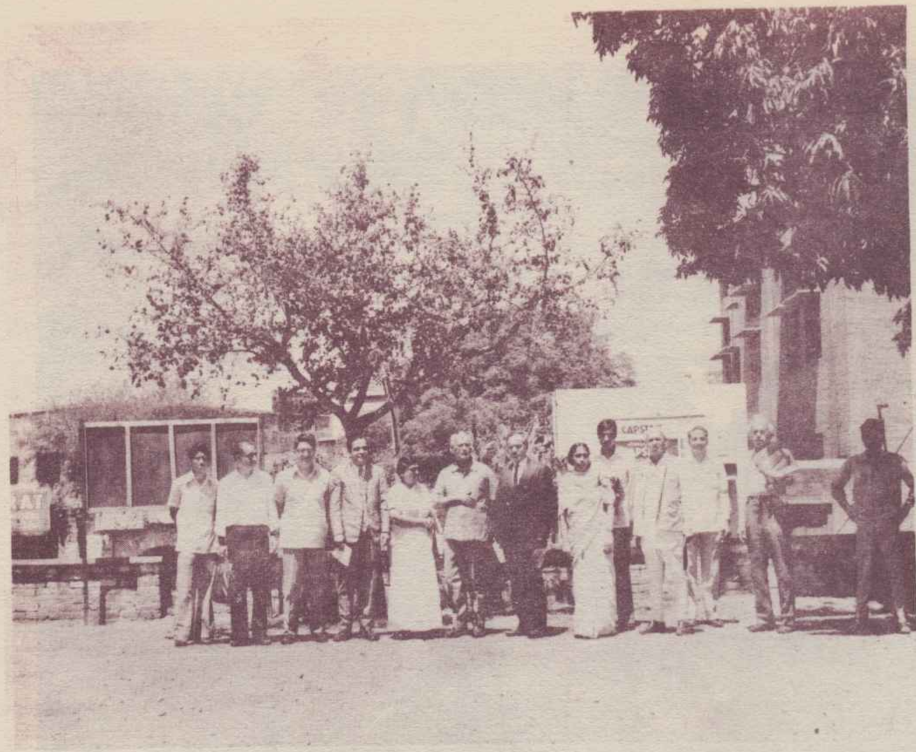
The whole period between the accession of Bukhtyar Khan and the end of Muluk Singh's rule (1771), was generally one of prosperity and peace in Kishtwar. The Rajas, Bukhtyar, Sadat and Saeedatmand Khan, were men of devotion and they strove to achieve their people's contentment. They also performed some works of public utility. However, trouble arose when Saeedatmand Khan (Mihar Singh) became ruler in 1771 and when his brothers, Muhammad (Sojan Singh) and Dalil Singh, apparently against their brother, sought intervention from outside. This development afforded a chance to Baladuris and the Chambans to fish in the troubled waters, let alone the role played in future by Ranjit Dev of Jammu and his descendants. Probably, this state of affairs would never have come to be but for the reason that the Paramount Power in India itself was on the wane, and, the Valley of Kashmir which could have filled in the gap, was also torn by anarchy. Kashmir was then under the Durranis. At this hour of trial good sense prevailed between the brothers so that both Saeedatmand Khan and Sojan Singh, who had obtained help from Kashmir and Jammu respectively, combined against the Chambans. As a result, Kishtwar was restored to its former position and Muhammad Sojan Singh ruled it for about half a decade (1779-84).

Muhammad was succeeded by his son Inayatullah Singh whom he had left at Jammu in lieu of the military assistance rendered by the Dogras. Raja Ranjit Dev had put him behind the bars twice during his own illness. Meanwhile, after Muhammad Sojan, two stopgap princes, Prithi and Ajit, rose to the Gaddi, but the latter was removed by Lal Dev Dogra under the 'orders' of Ranjit Dev himself. For a couple of years, Lal Dev ruled in Kishtwar somewhat harshly. When his oppression reached its height, the Kotwals and Kanthi and Saraj went to Jammu and managed the escape of their prince from the Bahu fortress. Having liberated Inayatullah from the captivity, they organised and equipped a force to extirpate Lal Dev. Inayatullah was a man of realism, scholarship and great ability. He first received the homage from the headmen and chiefs in his lawful territories and then declared himself the Raja. In his time Kishtwar and Kashmir were brought closer in that he called on the Durrani Governor, Nawab Azad Khan, at Lesar. He was properly rewarded and a representative, Allama Hafiz Hafizullah was deputed to Kishtwar.

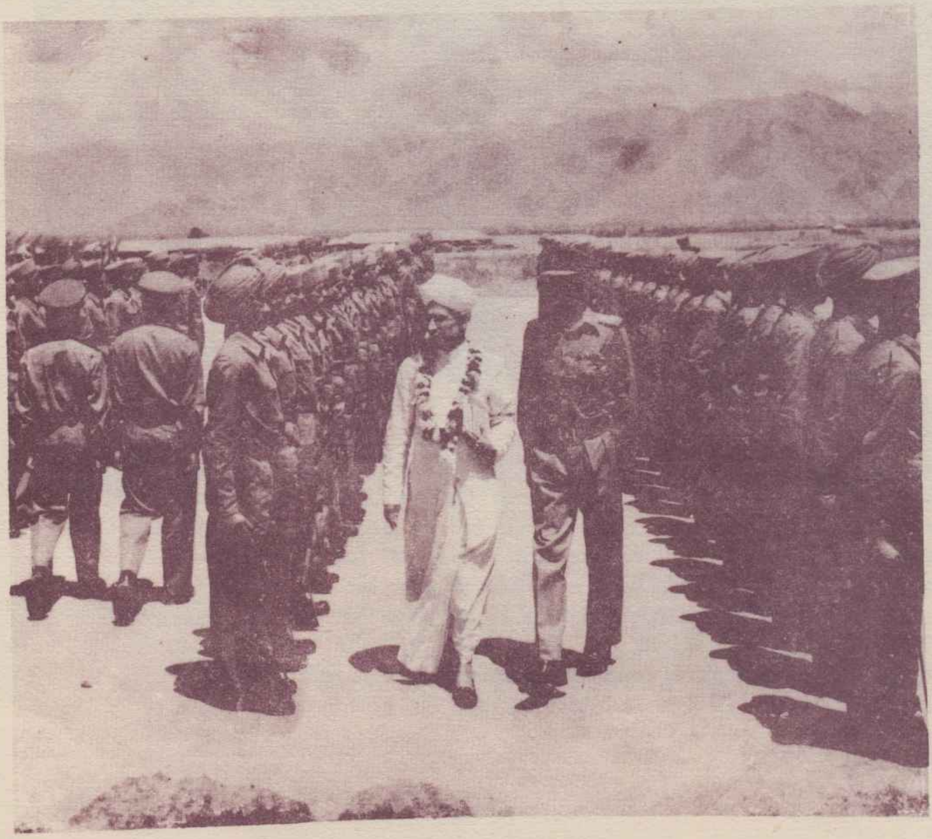
Raja Inayatullah was assassinated by his cousin Gulab Singh with the connivance of Pirzada Nur-ud-Din and Bahadur Shah (a fugitive from the Kashmir Valley). But the murderers were killed shortly after. His son Muhammad Tegh Singh, succeeded to the Gaddi but being a minor, his own aunt Anwar Dai Begum, became the regent. She worked efficiently for twelve years and at one time saved the state from the Chamban intruders. On her death, Muhammad Tegh, assumed rulership at the age of fourteen. It is an irony of history that a powerful Raja like Muhammad Tegh should have preferred to terminate his old and worthy line in Kishtwar. One cannot but appreciate his having emerged as a successful leader from the long struggle against his enemies. In times of peace as well, he showed much of capability and strength in so far as he organised a large army to employ it in implementing his plan of conquest and in expanding and defending



Dr. M. S. Randhawa, Chairman of the Committee on reorganisation of the wings of the Directorate. With him is Dr. S. M. Iqbal, the Director. Dr. Randhawa sent his report recently and it awaits implementation.



Seven members of the Randhawa Committee. Dr. M.S. Randhawa and Dr. Iqbal are seen in the midst. Venue is S.R.S. Library, Kachchi Chawni, Jammu Tawi.



Dr. ***Radhakrishnan****, inspecting a unit of J&K Infantry in Kashmir.*

his territory. He could even maintain and entertain Shah Shuja, the fugitive ruler of Afghanistan. The Shah stayed in Kishtwar for two and a half years and Raja Tegh assisted him in his attempts at conquering Kashmir Valley. He also sent military succour to Abdullah Khan who had declared his independence and against whom the then Shah of Kabul, Timur, had deputed a large army. All along, Muhammad Tegh worked hard to give peace and prosperity to his people. It is believed that his administration was just and efficient and that in the fulfilment of his duties, he was assisted by both the Hindu and Muslim advisers.

In this brief account of the rulers of Kishtwar, a very important point is that which concerns the borders of the said state. Muhammad Tegh's political authority extended nearly to all the areas comprising now the district of Doda. Actually, the process of integration was started under Muhammad Sojan who took over Banihal. In his territory was included Dengbuttal too. Thus the extent of his dominion was from the areas of Nagsen to Dengbuttal in length and from Chaugan to Pargana Bonju in breadth. This is the view of Molvi Hashmatullah. Muhammad Sojan's areas of control were wider than those of any other ruler beyond his southern or western borders. Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, on the surrender of Raja Tegh, had gained territories more extensive than his own. According to Hashmatullah, the latter's state was equal in area or measurement to modern tehsils of Ramban and Kishtwar. The inhabitants of Banihal, Dengbuttal, Pogal and of the hamlets surrounding them, had renewed their allegiance to Muhammad Tegh. As for Bhaderwah, it was recovered from some insurgents by Mian Mirza Shah with the assistance of Wazir Lakhpat. According to T.G. Vigne, who visited the region under reference in 1838, Bhaderwah was captured by the Durrani forces (during Abdullah Khan's Governorship in Kashmir) and it was restored to the original owners (the Rajas of Kishtwar). Muhammad's authority was effectively felt as far as Paddar and Zanskar. Mr. Vigne states that "the frontier of the latter province (i.e., Kishtwar) was at one time extended to that of Ladakh, by the possession of Murduwan and Suru".

Though a powerful Raja and with larger territories under his charge, Muhammad Tegh Singh could not withstand the Dogra challenge. The real causes of his failure were his pleasure-seeking and the intrigues of some of his own men. Probably, he would have successfully fought the invader but the unexpected defection of Wazir Lakhpat sealed his fate. He had, moreover, displeased the Sikh Ruler, Ranjit Singh by assisting Shah Shuja. His own community (of Kashmiris) would have possibly come to his rescue but it too had fallen a prey to internal disorder in the parent Valley. The result was that Gulab Singh struck at an opportune moment and annexed the state of Kishtwar. Muhammad Tegh did not accept any terms of either of the Dogras or of the Sikhs. Instead, he went to live at Lahore where he died disappointed. He left three sons but none of them was capable. None of them could therefore recover the lost dominions.

The Culture of Kashmir : A Glimpse

Krishen Lal

During their long periods of independence, isolation and solidarity. the people of Kashmir developed a unique culture making everlasting contribution to learning and literature.

The Valley of Kashmir which is surrounded by the snow-clad Himalayas is one of the most beautiful spots in the world because of "vast expanse of flat country with rich alluvial soil, lofty and glacial mountains, crystal streams, lofty crags, torrents, broad lakes, shady Chinar groves and pine forests."

Kashmir was for the most part of time a separate kingdom. "As a matter of fact, the history of Kashmir is a chronicle of king's courts, in the times of the Tartars, the Buddhists, the Sultans, the Sikhs and the Christian rulers." Among the Muslim rulers Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin is the most famous for his benevolent qualities.

According to Dr. Neve "the climate of the valley until the end of May, is similar to that of Switzerland. As a whole the climate of Kashmir is much better suited to invalids than that of many other Indian Sanitoriums."

Jammu and Kashmir is the home of different races and sects and their history goes thousands of years back. "Many are the strange and interesting customs and social usages prevailing among them and any detailed account of their history will fill a volume. "The eminent Indologist Dr. Grierson has placed the Kashmiri language in the Dardic branch of non-Sanskritic languages in his "Linguistic Survey of India", Unfortunately, Kashmir has no script of its own, but no one can deny the fact that this language has a "vast store of rich proverbs, sayings and folklore". Persian script has since been adopted and the Kashmiri literature is growing in "quality and quantity". There is variety of beliefs and customs regarding birth, death and marriage among Hindus and Muslims. These are, of course, different in the case of the two communities.

Kashmir has rendered a valuable contribution to Indian literature, Kalhana and Bilhana are remembered for historical works. The former wrote *Rajatarangini* which throws "a flood of light not only on the history of Kashmir but also on the history of India." Bilhana's *Vikramankadava Charita* is concerned with the history of South India. Charaka and Koka studied medical and sex respectively. Vamana, Nammata, Anandavardhana, Ruyaka, Kuntala, Abhinavagupta are noted for literary criterion. Similarly, Mankha, Kshemendra, Matrigupta, Shilhana, Jhalhana, Shivaswamin and Somadeva were eminent Kashmiri writers. In short, "the culture of Kashmir is a composite one, a synthetic pattern with unity in diversity."

The Kashmiri language can claim unique position among the modern Indo-Aryan languages. "It has a considerable importance to the linguist. This is due to its "antiquity which may well go back to the Vedic times. According to a high authority, Kashmiri is of a Dardic or Sinha source, which are Aryan languages. Kashmiri has been influenced by Sanskrit and Persian considerably. The Kashmiri proverbs are concerned about various aspects of nature, society and human life. These proverbs and sayings are often interposted into conversation by the Kashmiris. These proverbs are usually pithy, poetic and un-ambiguous, though often metaphoric utterances" *e.g.*, "*Nosh Pyayi athi ayi*"—"A daughter-in-law wins recognition (proves her worth) when she gives birth to a child."

, In Kashmir, one may not be astonished to witness the Hindus and Muslims "equally holding in reverence the Hindu shrines and the Muslim Khanqahs situated closely or almost in the same premises. "The notable examples are the great Khanqah of Shah Hamdan, Temple of Kali, Shah Sahib's mosque, Ziyarat-i-Makhdoom Sahib, Hari Parbat and Madin Sahib".

.Although with the advent of Islam conversions took place in Kashmir as in other parts of India, yet no one can deny that the Muslims adopted a few Hindu customs "giving in return some of their own to be adopted by the Hindus". Thus an exchange of two cultures took place. "Seldom in the history of mankind," so writes Sir J. Marshall, "has the spectable been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed yet so radically dissimilar, as the Hindus and Muslims, meeting and mingling together." The ancient works like *Katha Sagar* and *Brahat Katha* were translated into Persian and Turki. The Court historian Jonaraja observes about Zain-ul-Abidin: "The King sitting on a lotus-throne in the form of Ganesha, studied the ancient works of Rishis and visited with all devotion all "Tirthas" observing all Hindu customs. During the last feeble years of the king, the court physician and Minister Shri Bhat, would read out to him passages from "Panchastavi".

One of he most beautiful and the most highly developed schools of Indian Philosophy is Kashmir Shaivism. It developed between the 7th and 12th Centuries of the Christian era. Unfortunately, Kashmir Shaivism is little known outside Kashmir, as access to Kashmir was difficult in those ancient days. There are a few translations of some minor works on Shaivism available in English. One such work is the "*Pratyabhijna Vimarsini*" of Abhinavagupta. Kashmir Shaivism is called Trika Philosophy, the three-fold scene, which is based on three energies of Lord Shiva *i.e. Para, Para-para* and *Apara.*

By *Para* is meant the supreme Energy of Lord Shiva. *Parapara* means the Intermediate Energy of Lord Shiva and by *Apara* is meant Lord Shiva's Inferior Energy.

Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* may be called a masterpiece of historical writing. It consists of eight books of unequal size, written in Sanskrit in nearly 8,000 verses of rare literary merit. The text may be divided into three sections :

I. Books I-III, are based on tradition.

II. In Books IV-VI, dealing with Karakota and Utpala dynasties, he has made use of works of earlier chronicles who were contemporaries of the events they described.

III. For Book VII and VIII, dealing with Lohara dynasties, he made use of personal knowledge and eye-witness accounts, the latter often perhaps received at second or third hand.

The book was written by Kalhana during the years 1148-1149. The author seems to have been of mature age from the style of the book. There is no denying the fact that Kalhana's "*Rajatarangini*" and "*Nilmata Purana*" provide excellent material for "the study of the society in earlier times." "The latter presents an interesting study of the economic life, as well as of other means of recreation such as music, dancing, theatrical performance, sports, arts and crafts, dresses and ornaments, domestics, food and drinks, domesticated animals, culture and trade, political thought and organisation, army and war, religious cults, festivals and religious practices, philosophy and language."

Kashmiri literature is found in abundance. "In the first period we have Shiti Kantha's "*Mahaanay Prakash*" Lalded's and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din Wali's "Waakh" and Bhattavataar's "*Banasura Katha*". This literature was composed upto 1555 when Sultan Habib Shah was dethroned and Ghazi Chak ascended the throne. During the period 1555 to 1752 "Persian is firmly established not only as the official language but also as the language of literature." The eminent writers of this period are Maulana Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi (1522-1594), Mirza Akmal-ud-Din Kamil and Khawaja Habib Ullah Nowsheri (1555-1617). There is no wonder that while these eminent writers wrote in Persian, songs continued to be written in Persian. During the third period (1752 to 1923) which is a prolific one, poetry took new forms. This is the age of material romance, when stories or legends of love and adventure are poetized. Here is a short list: "*Sri-Ramavtar Charit*" by Prakash Ram, "*Sri Krishnavtar Lila*" by Dinanatha; "Gul-e-Bakawli" by Hakim Ablee Sheikh, "Heemal" by Waliullah Mattoo, "Gulrez" by Maqbool Shah Kraalwary, "Kralkoor" by Peer Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, "*Gul-i-Bakawli*" by Lassa Khan, "Yusuf Zulaikha", and "Laila Majnoon" by Mahmood Gami, "Nala Damyanti" by Lakshman Bulbul. Other writers of this period are Abdul Wahab Parrey, Krishana Razdan and Mahmood Gaami. Parmanand wrote three long poems : "Sudhamacharita, Radha Swayamwara and Shivi Lagana."

The fourth period (1925-47) is the age of Mahjoor. "He belongs to the school of Rasool Meer and shares with him the popularity of being the best writer of our Kashmiri 'Geet' and 'Ghazal'. He restored much of the native melody to our language and introduced many new themes such as "My Youth" and "The country Lass" and some patriotic songs.

Master Zinda Kaul may be said to have sounded the modern note. His poetry is mostly mystical. He wrote "Vadihey Manush", "Naata Yaaree", "Joogy, "Lolas Kun", "Sumaran", and "Vanan Manz Lal".

Soon after the Partition new poets were born and they wrote on the themes of life and death struggle with a rhetorical eloquence, Dinanath Nadim's songs like, "I will not sing today"-"are stirring and unforgettable. Abd-ur-Rehman Rahi, too, is a poet of eminence and he wrote on "new themes" and experimented with "new forms". His contemporary, Ghulam Nabi Firaq also composes melodious verses in Kashmiri. There is no denying the fact that a crop of new generation of poets and prose writers and drama writers has come up and that all of them have enriched this literature considerably. The Cultural Academy has been instrumental in bringing forward some of the writers of Kashmiri prose and poetry.

So, one can say with pride that the Kashmiris inherit a culture which is older and richer than the culture of even the Chinese and the Britishers.

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A university should be a place of light, of liberty, and learning.

—*Benjamin Disraeli*

Travel and Tourism in Kashmir between 1831 to 1944

Dr. Wajih-ud-Din

Younghusband observed : "Surprise has often been expressed that when this lovely land had actually been ceded to us, after a hard and strenuous campaign, we should have parted with it for the petty sum of three-quarters of a million sterling".

Kashmir has been for centuries a place of tourist attraction. It is a place of innumerable enjoyments. The unending varieties of its landscape, the magic of its natural scenery, the vivid cultural life, the glistening glaciers, the rushing torrents, sparkling springs, the cool shadows of the chinars, the allurement of her famous health resorts and last but not least, her traditional hospitality meet any tourist's taste and capacity for recreation. Ruskin once said that "in the whole range of inorganic nature, there is no object more perfectly beautiful than a fresh deep snow drift seen under warm sunlight. Add a background of mountains scenery and one can experience a profile of nature's unmatched beauty". Kashmir affords opportunities for holidaying unrivalled in Asia and perhaps in the world. Travel and life in Kashmir contribute to make a tourist's stay one uninterrupted pleasure and an impressive experience. G. T. Vigne, the English traveller, who visited the valley of Kashmir in 1842 writes in his book "Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskarde" that Kashmir will become the focus of Asiatic civilisation; a miniature England in the heart of Asia...and, presenting so many attractions, it will become the *Sine-Qua-Non* of the Oriental traveller". Walter R. Lawrence who started land settlement in 1887 says in his book "The Valley of Kashmir" that the beautiful valley has been a pleasure resort of Europeans and many books have been written on the nationality, character, language, dress and body of customs of Kashmir. Historians and early travellers have left a graphic account of the geographical location, arts and crafts, trade and industry, trade routes, and the terrible hardships like series of famines, wars, earthquakes and floods which caused sufferings to the people of the State.

With the expansion of the British power to the north the fame of the Valley as a beautiful land with a cultural and historical heritage acquired much significance. It is right to remark that the political history of the Valley has been affected more by geographical situation than by any other factors from ancient Hindu rule till it became a princely State under Dogra rule. Before the purchase of

Kashmir by Gulab Singh the British started to cast their eyes on this heavenly abode. One finds that a large number of British nationals paid frequent visits to the Valley during the regime of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who valued Kashmir for its revenue and for its strategic location. Other civilian foreign nationals also visited the Valley. During the same period Moorcroft paid a visit to it and travelled upto Ladakh. In 1831 Victor Jacquemont, a French Naturalist, visited Kashmir with the permission of Ranjit Singh. He entered the Valley through Poonch and returned the same year to the plains via Pir Panjal. During the Governorship of Colonel Mian Singh, Kashmir was visited by several other European travellers.

In consideration of the service rendered by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu to the Sikh State, the Maharaja agreed to recognise the independent might of Raja Gulab Singh in such territories and in the hills as might be made over to him by separate agreement between himself and the British Government. The British authorities, in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Gulab Singh, also agreed to recognise his sovereignty and to permit him to sign a separate treaty with the British Government.

Such a treaty was entered into at Amritsar on 16th March, 1846 between Raja Gulab Singh and the British Government, according to which the hilly country with its dependencies to the eastward of river Indus and westward of the river Ravi including Chumba and excluding Lahul were transferred to him, and also the country of Kashmir for the transfer of which the Maharaja Gulab Singh, the founder ruler of Dogra dynasty, had to pay the British Government a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs (Nanak-shahi).

Younghusband, the famous traveller remarks that "surprise has often been expressed that when this lovely land had actually been ceded to us, after a hard and strenuous campaign, we should have parted with it for the petty sum of three-quarters of a million sterling".

Gulab Singh showed a hospitable treatment to the European visitors. In 1846, shorly after signing of the Amritsar Treaty, Lord Harding's sons visited the Valley, followed by Lt. Reynell Taylor—the Deputy to the Resident of Lahore. Other British officials who paid visits were Cunningham, Lawrence and Nicholson and others who advised the Maharaja on various matters including the appointment of British Resident which was rejected. Gulab Singh was succeeded by his son Ranbir Singh whose court was visited by scholars from all over India and who, realising the importance of good communication both in and outside the Valley, constructed along with many pathways a path between Jammu and Srinagar. For the convenience of tourists he made annual contribution for the upkeep of roads, various inns and rest houses.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was succeeded by his eldest son Pratap Singh whose succession helped the British Government of India to appoint its Resident in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the safety of the frontiers of the State became directly the responsibility of the British.

The Banihal Track was opened for private use of the Maharaja and travellers had to obtain a permit to travel on it. In 1922 it was thrown open for public use and telephone connections were set up between

Jammu and Srinagar. The opening of the Valley for the tourists had far-reaching economic and political effects. It came into direct contact with the rest of the sub-continent which was until then isolated. The arrival of a large number of foreign and Indian tourists to Kashmir influenced the culture and socio-economic structure of its residents. All possible efforts were made by the State Government and the British Indian Government to make Kashmir a place of attraction for all tourists.

French experts who visited Kashmir Valley realised the vast scope for production of European fruits and with their help the first nursery was established in 1887 followed by the establishment of the Department of Horticulture and Agriculture in 1967. It was in the region of Maharaja Pratap Singh that House-Boats Industry received impetus.

The Foreign Department was responsible for the entertainment of internal and external visitors. The Reception Department headed by a Superintendent, was a part of it and was responsible to maintain Farash Khana, stores, tents, equipages, furniture and entertainment and reception of European and other guests. The expenses incurred on various heads during the year 1899 totalled several thousands of rupees.[1]

The guests entertained during the year under review were quite pleased with the arrangements made for their reception and entertainment.

II. NATIVE GUESTS:

The number of guests entertained together with the attendants from all parts of India was 1,177 during the year 1898. The total expenditure incurred for the purpose was Rs. 10,875-0-8 against a grant of Rs. 10,928-12-0 consisting of the following items :

Out of Budget, 1898 (Samvat 1955)	Rs. 4,000/-
Extra grant (Resolution dated Dec. 17 1897)	2,000/-
Ration allowance to Raja Baldeo Singh	2,000/-
From other heads	2,923/12/-
Total :	Rs. 10,923/12/-

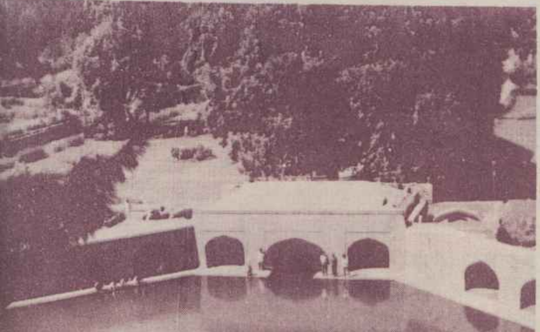
There was a separate section within the Reception Department which was directly under the supervision of Motamid Durbar and was named as "Visitors' Quarter", Srinagar. During the year 1898 Rai Sahib Amar Nath was Motamid Durbar who was also supervising this section. The following statements show the total expenditure as compared with the sanctioned Budget allotment of 'Visitors' Quarter' Srinagar for Samvat 1955 (corresponding to the Christian Era 1898) :

Budget Allotment for Samvat 1955. Establishment & other contingencies.	Purchase repairs & other allowances	Total	Expenditure incurred during the year.			Total
			Establishment.	Travelling allowances.	Repairs to furniture.	
5,105 /-	940 /-	6,045 /-	4.910 /29	...	645/-	537529

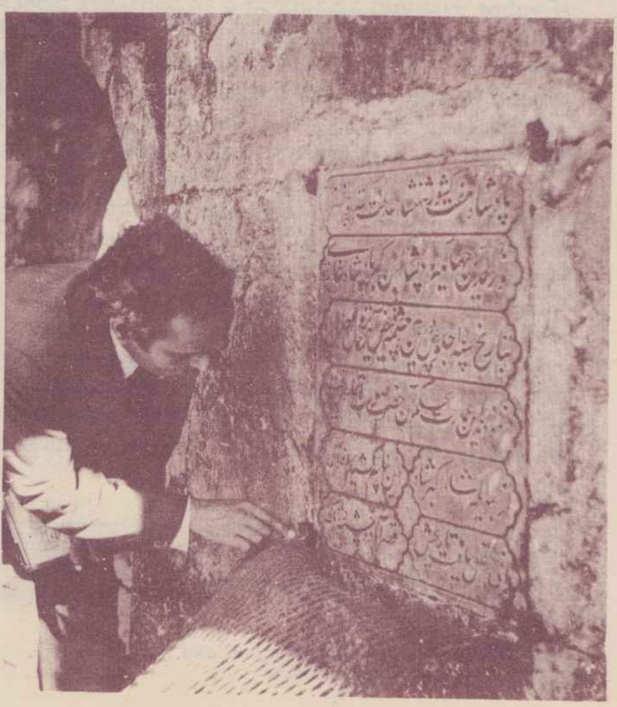
En gammal övergiven karavanseraj i Pir Panjal-bergen. Här drog en gång Stora Mogul fram med elefanter och arméer, det mest lysande skådespel som någonsin skådats i denna del av världen, kanske överhuvudtaget sedan ett kejserligt triumftåg i Rom.

43

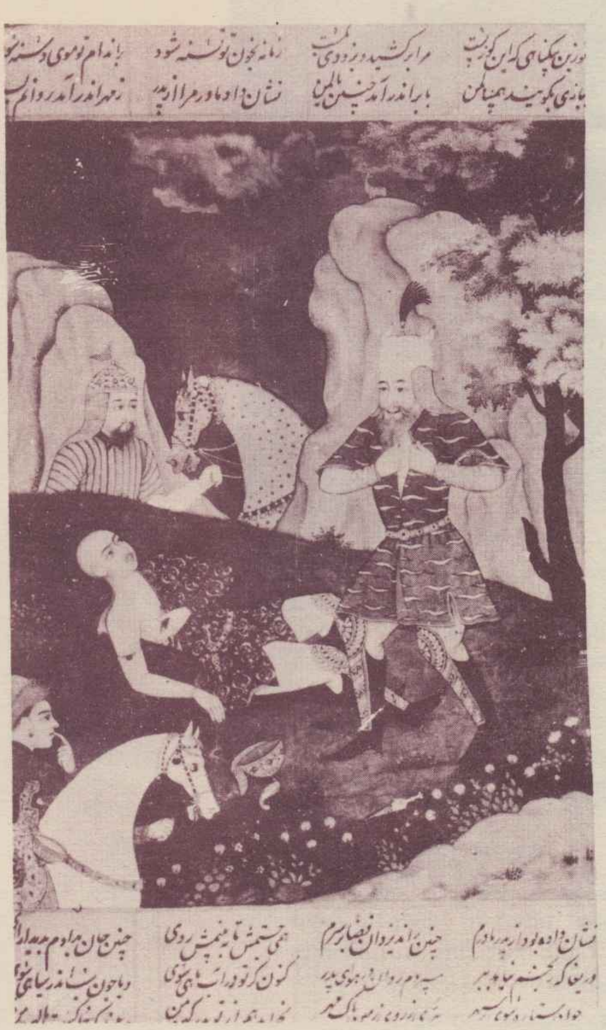
Modern Verinag, as it stood scores of years before, exposing the exterior walls.



The historical Mughal Spring—Verinag—one of the main sources of the river Jehlum.

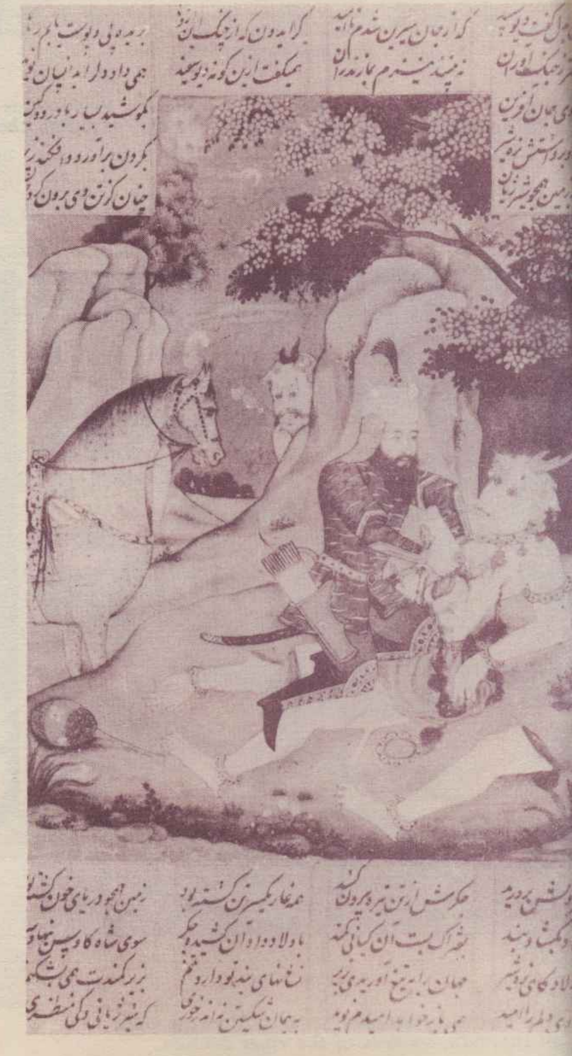


Dr. Iqbal inspecting the inscription at the Verinag.



Fighting between Sohrab and Rustum—(Shahnama) MSS Section.

Fighting between Dev-i-Safaid and Rustum (Shahnama) MSS Section.



Receipts of the Reception Department: Samvat 1955

The following table shows the total receipts of the Reception Department from various items of the J & K State for the Samvat year 1955 :

1.	Jammu Dak Bunglow rent (excluding rent free)	Rs. 210-4-0
2.	-do- Stores and wines	141-12-3
3.	Jammu Barrack stores and wines	219-0-0
4.	Lighting Department on account of empty tins	32-14-0
5.	Ajaibghar sale of condemned articles	14-0-0
6.	Native guests bhaji	613-8-0
7.	Recovery of missing uniforms	364-2-3
8.	Sale proceeds of unserviceable articles by auction	364-2-3
9.	Recovery on account of damaged articles	18-4-0
10.	Sale proceeds of vegetables from Residency garden	3-4-0
11.	Amount realised from visitors to Kashmir as rent of Bunglows.	7163-3-0
	Total	Rs. 8,840-3-6

It is clear from the table that during the region of Maharaja Pratap Singh the receipts of the Reception Department were little as compared to the latter period. The influx of tourists in Kashmir increased in much significant proportion every year with the introduction of motor car in 1920. This tremendous development in the tourism at a fast and sharply increasing rate is entirely due to provision of good motor roads and the reduced cost living. By the time Second World War was declared Kashmir was renowned as the holiday centre of Asia. The number of the visitors in 1941 was nearly thirty thousand and the amount of wealth which they brought into Kashmir was approximately 80 lakhs of rupees. During the war period the number went to forty thousand.

Tourism which has been regarded as a promising industry today is of great economic importance. Its economic significance is equal to that of an export industry and is considered to be a big source of public economy in the present century. No single industry has ever shown such a phenominal rate of growth as has international tourism over the past decade. In 1967, 34,25000 Americans travelling overseas spent an estimated sum of Rs. I,53,50,00,000/-. It is, therefore, necessary for the State to develop it to the fullest possible extent. The money spent by tourists creates an economic activity three or four-fold. Much of the revenue of the State comes from tourism which is now considered to be the biggest export-import business and is becoming very popular in all parts of the world. Tourism has special significance for Kashmir, and it is, therefore, necessary to have well developed tourist industry in order to earn more foreign exchange. The variety of natural attractions of the Valley should be fully exploited so that the industry may yield more revenue for her development plans. Kashmir has been recognised or deemed the Switzerland or Venice of the East.

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*(1) Report on the Administration of J & K State for the years 1898, 1899, 1900 published in 1964 by Dr. M. Surajmal, Secretary to the Council, J & K p. 152.

Some Aspects of Corvee (begar) in Kashmir (A.D.833–1858)

Dr. Mohammad Ishaq Khan

A verse on Kathi Darwaza, Srinagar. reads : "No person worked free on this construction. All workers received their dues from the imperial treasury".

The system of forced labour or *corvee* under the name of *Kar-begar* continued to remain till recent times one of the most pronounced features of Kashmir administration. Owing to the absence of proper roads in the Valley and also because of the torturous paths in the hilly regions it was always felt necessary to use load-carriers in preference to all other means of transport". In fact, throughout the chequered history of Kashmir the pack-pony used to carry the exports from and imports into the Valley. But the human back was considered to be more useful than the pony and no doubt, it was usually used for the carriage of heavy loads over the hilly areas. It should be borne in mind that the whole obligation for transport of goods was imposed upon the villagers and they were always struck with awe and terror whenever their rulers undertook military expeditions in or outside the Valley. The ever increasing demand for carrying supplies to the soldiers created by those campaigns put the villagers to a great deal of trouble. They were required to present themselves for carrying their allotted loads, and if they did not turn up, inhuman crimes were perpetrated on them. This measure must have been resented by the peasants, for it kept them away for a long time from their fields "which required weeding or watering and constant supervision".

The genesis of *corvee* in Kashmir may be traced to very ancient times. Probably the first reliable reference to it is found in *Rajatarangini*[1] ...King Samkaravarman (A. D. 883-902) is said "to have given to this *corvee* a systematic organization *(rudhabharodhi)*, and to have used it also for fiscal extortion", though he was certainly not the first to resort to *begar* for transport purposes[2]. In Kalhana's times the system of forced carriage of loads was "the harbinger of misery for the villages".[3] The villagers who did not comply with the Government's order for carrying loads "were fined by the value of the latter at enhanced rates, and the same fine was levied the following year a second time from the village as a whole".[4] Kalhana records an interesting anecdote when the purohitas of a temple held a solemn fast *(Parva)* against the forced carriage of loads *(rudhabharodh)* and this earned them exemption from begar.[5]

In the reign of king Jayasimha (A. D. 1128-49) a military expedition led by his commander Dhanya was sent against Sirahsilakotta castle[6]. Dhanya was successful but the victory gained by him was mainly at the cost of human life and human suffering.[7]

The *corvee* continued to be in vogue in Kashmir during the Sultanate period (1320-1586 A. D.)[8] Sultan Shihab-ud-Din enforced *begar* on the *Hanjis*. They were obliged to serve him a week in every month.[9] This practice was, however, abolished by Sultan Ali Shah[10]. During the period of the Sultans men were forcibly employed for collecting saffron[11]. They were compelled to work for separating the saffron from the petals and the stamens, and in return they received a certain quantity of salt as wages[12]. In the time of Sultan Ghazi Shah Chak they were given eleven *traks*[13] of saffron flower, out of which one *trak* was to be their wages, and for the remaining ten they were bound to supply a quarter *trak* of saffron to the Government[14]. Abul Fazl states that Akbar put a stop to this practice on his third visit to Kashmir, to the great relief of the peasants[15].

Kashmir was conquered by Akbar in 1586 A.D. Under the great Mughal the compulsory labour was without any doubt due from the people, but with this basic difference, that it did not take the form of unpaid work. As Sir Waler Lawrence observes :

> "the very durability of the buildings of the Mughals, suggested that the work was paid for ; buildings constructed by forced and unpaid labour did not last long"[16].

That the labourers got fair return for their work during Akbar's reign is testified by literary[17] as well as archaeological evidence. The extant inscription in Persian on the main gate (Kathi Darwaza) of the Akbar's wall round the Hari Parbat hillock deserves to be quoted here:

نه کرده هیچ کس بهگار اینجا
تمام یافتند از فخر نش زر

Translation: "No person worked free on this construction. All workers received their dues from the imperial treasury".

Itqad Khan, the last Governor sent by Emperor Jahangir to Kashmir, proved to be very cruel. He revived the old practice of imposing work on men at the time of saffron collection.[18] As a result of this measure, the people were in a miserable plight and they got only a little salt as their wages[19]. But Shah Jahan dismissed the tyrannical Governor for reviving the iniquitous custom of *begar*[20]. It was ordered that no man should by any means be seized for the collection of saffron. As regards the saffron grown on the crown *(Khalisa)* lands, it was laid down that "labourers employed be satisfied by payment of suitable wages and whatever grows on *Jagir* lands, the *Jagirdar* shall gather it as he pleases"[21].

Aurangzeb also seems to have been solicitous of the labourers. We learn from the French traveller that the Governor of Kashmir and the rajas of the neighbouring territories sent a large number of labourers for the services of Aurangzeb when he halted at Bhimber on his way to Kashmir[22]. It is significant to note that whereas in the earlier part of the Dogra rule in Kashmir, the labourers were reluctant to work for their masters for the single reason that they were treated in the manner of slaves, but in the time of Aurangzeb they came voluntarily in the hope of earning a little money[23]. Even more important manner of it is the fact that the Mughal Emperor himself fixed the wages of the labourer at ten crowns (French) for every hundred pounds of weight[24].

The decline of the Mughal rule marks a turning-point in Kashmir's history. For about two centuries after the death of Aurangzeb, anarchy, misrule and oppression reigned supreme in the Valley. Now the beautiful Valley fell an easy prey to the ambitious invaders, such as the Afghans, the Sikhs and others. It is not to be wondered therefore that during this period the bureaucracy played the most tyrannical role, seeking only to become rich at the cost of the common man.

Azad Khan, the Afghan Governor in Kashmir (1783-85 A. D.) exacted forced labour with utmost rigour. A large number of peasants was seized by him and compelled to carry provisions when he marched out of the capital to fight the chieftains[25], the Khakha and Bomba chiefs of Muzaffarabad[26]. The Governor, no doubt, emerged victorious, but mainly so at the terrible price the peasants had to pay for their absence from the fields. On another occasion, the peasants of the Kamraj district were forcibly employed for the construction of a *wier* at Athwajan[27]. Azad's experiment to convert Maisuma into a lake did not fructify as the water could not reach the contemplated site[28]. According to Pir Hassan Shah, the foolish act of Azad Khan caused great inconvenience to the people[29].

Kashmir was occupied by the Sikhs in 1819 A.D. A feeble attempt made by Col. Mehan Singh to abolish *begar*[30] would not have yielded any result in the days when the officials enjoyed more powers and privileges than their masters. Thousands of villagers were reported to have been impressed by Sheikh Mohi-ud-Din[31] for carrying supplies to Raja Gulab Singh's army in Ladakh[32]. Moorcroft[33] and Hugel[34] have given a graphic picture of the sad plight of the villagers and extortions demanded from them by the Sikh officials. Moorcroft writes that some of the men accompanying him were seized by the Sikhs "as unpaid porters, and were not only driven along the road by a cord tying them together by the arms, but their legs were bound with ropes at night to prevent their escape"[35]. Another traveller visiting Kashmir in the time of Sheikh Mohi-ud-Din gives an eye-witness account of the cruelties on the villagers. The visitor notes:

> "I have been in many lands, but nowhere did the human being present a more saddening spectacle than in Kashmir. It vividly recalled the history of the Israelities under the Egyptian *(Pharaoh's)* rule, when they were flagged at their daily labour by their pitiless task-masters. And here the same picture presents itself:

> man raises his hand against his fellow-men, and for no other object than to excite physical pain. This troop of forty peasants were called together by a beadle, and driven along like a herd of cattle, the keeper walking behind, and striking all within his reach. This slave driver carried a peculiar kind of whip, woven after the fashion of the Russian knot, a little more pliant, and about a foot and a half in length. There were three or four thongs, each having a knot on the end. The handle was about a foot and a half long. The beadle carries the whip in his girdle and when the opportunity occurs uses it, as a driver of cattle does his goad, and indeed I ought to say, that he makes opportunities rather than awaits them"[36].

With the advent of the Dogra rule in Kashmir in 1846, the system of *begar* assumed dangerous proportions". This was mainly due to the fact that the earlier part of the Dogra rule was worked by an intense military action in the border areas. Time and again, thousands of villagers were seized for carrying supplies to Chilas and Gilgit etc[38]. Condign punishments were meted out to such of the peasants who refused to carry loads[39]. Even children were not spared[40]. Lt. Col. Taylor found about ten instances of begar in Kashmir in which a large number of men were engaged under compulsion by the Government. Pt. Khunya Lal who was in Kashmir in the reign of Gulab Singh records in his diary :

> "In the morning at Wuttoo, I saw a crowd of about 20 people at my doors. I asked them who they were and what they wanted. They said they were plaintiffs and came to Sahib to complain of their grievances. On being asked what they had to say, they added they were Domes and of other castes, but His Highness the Maharaja had given them axes and ordered to cut trees in the jungle, whereby they were ruined. They showed me their hands, which were full of corns. I asked them whether they get any wages. They said that they get nothing but a Seer of rice per day per man ; and the reasons of their complaining was that they used to plough lands and thereby to support their families, but being employed in cutting trees they are obliged to neglect their lands, and so their families die of starvation. On hearing this, I asked them what the Maharaja was doing with that wood. They said that he sends for it at Cashmere by *begarees* and there has it sold by his people. After all this I told them that this Sahib can do nothing for them, and they returned disappointed, saying whether *Sahiblog* had appointed the Maharaja to kill the people........."[43]

Mr. Melvill, Extra Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, was on deputation in Kashmir in 1847 A.D. He was told by some women of a village in Chrar that their men were dragged as coolies by the Government[44]. They complained that the Government "used formerly to send its own wood-cutters, and that the Zamindars were obliged to carry it from village to village towards its destination; but an order had recently been issued that the Zameendars should both cut and carry the wood"[45]. The result of this was that the cultivation of the land came to a standstill[46].

Corvee continued to be a cancer in the body politic under Ranbir Singh. Andrew Wilson has given us an eye-witness account of the miseries to which the villagers were subjected during this period. Thousands of them were employed for carrying the retinue of the Yarqand envoy on the latter's visit to Kashmir. "There were said to be 3,000 coolies employed carrying up himself (envoy) and the effects he had purchased in Europe". The traveller goes on to say:

> "I cannot say as to the exact number ; but really there seemed to be no end of them, and they came from all parts of Kashmir. They were to be met with at almost every turning, and in various positions. At one moment I would find half-a-dozen of them resisting to groan under the weight of 24-pounder gun, wrapped up in straw, while a sepoy of the Kashmir Maharajah threatened them with his stick or even with his sword...Again, I would come across three or four of them at sundown, kneeling down at prayer, with their faces turned towards what was supposed to be the direction of Mecca......At another time a party of them would halt as I came by, support their burdens on the short poles which they carried for that purpose, and some Hindustani spokesman among them would say to me, 'O Protector of the poor' (*Garib Parwar), '*you have been among these snowy mountains—shall we ever see our house—roofs again ? 'They all had the same story as to their monetary position. Each man had got five rupees (I do not know whether small chilki, Kashmir rupee, or British, but should fancy the former) in order to purchase rice for the journey; but their further expectations on the subject of pay were of the most desponding kind, and the only anxiety they showed us was, not as to how they were to get back again but as to whether it would be at all possible for them ever to get back again."[47]

It would appear from the above that the peasants were an unhappy lot in the time of Ranbir Singh. Wilson has, no doubt, referred to the wages, but considering the agonies in which the villagers writhed on the high snowy mountains, the paltry sum of Rs. 5/- would have hardly sufficed their needs.

No essay on *begar* will be complete if reference is not made to the woes and sufferings of the villagers on the Gilgit frontier[48]. In fact, the very name of Gilgit was dreaded by the peasants in the Dogra rule. Thousands of them died in this area of strategic importance whenever the expeditions were sent to the frontier region[49]. Writing in the earlier part of Maharaja Pratap Singh's reign, Sir Walter Lawrence remarks :

> "Gilgit to the Kashmiri is a constant terror, and when it was rumoured that transport was wanted to convey the baggage of the troops going to or coming from Gilgit, there was a general stampede among the villagers. I have seen whole villages birouacking on the mountains when the agents for the collection of transport arrived in their tehsil, and I have seen inhuman punishment dealt out to men who demurred to leaving their

> homes for two or three months with the prospect of death from cold and starvation. I have seen villagers maimed from frostbite or shrivelled and paralysed from exposure to cold, and it is no marvel that the Kashmiris should loathe the very name of Gilgit".[50]

Dr. Arthur Neve furnishes an eye-witness account. The noble doctor remarks :

> "For many years after I came to the country (Kashmir) the mere name of Gilgit struck terror into the Kashmiri...Early in April one year came word that the frontier tribes were on the war path, and orders were issued for a levy of 5,000 porters to accompany the two regiments sent to re-inforce the garrisons."

The doctor further notes :

> "I was at Islamabad, endeavouring to fight an epidemic of Cholera by sanitation, and noticed coolies collecting from all the surrounding region each with his blankets, spare grass-shoes, his carrying crutch, and light frame of sticks and rope in which to carry the load upon his back. And I was present at the great concourse on a green meadow in front of the mosque when a sort of farewell service was held for those starting on this perilous journey. Loud was the sobbing of many and fervid the demeanour of all as led by the moullah, they intoned their prayers and chanted some of their special Ramzan penitential psalms. Even braver men than the Kashmiris might have well be agitated at such a time, when taking farewell of their beloved ones ! who would till their fields, what would happen during their long absence to their wives and children ? To what perils would they themselves be exposed in the crowded birouacs and snowy passes of that deadly Gilgit district ?"[51]

Reference may be made to the other aspect of *begar*. It consisted "of requisitions for village produce" and was "a form of purveyance on behalf of officials. Under this system officials would obtain wood, grass, milk, poultry and grain, blankets and an occasional pony, cows and sheep free of cost, and higher officials would build houses in the city or cultivate waste land through the unpaid labour of the villagers".[52] Lawrence says that when he started his settlement operations in Kashmir he found numerous instances of this kind of *corvee*[53].

It should be borne in mind that occasionally *begar* was also conducted in the city of Srinagar, though its burden always fell on the poor villagers. For instance, on one occasion, about three to four hundred Muslims offering prayers in a mosque of the city were seized by Gulab Singh's officials and forced to carry ammunitions[54]. In the earlier part of Gulab Singh's reign it was a common practice to forcibly employ men and women of the city for collecting the saffron[55]. No remuneration was given to them[56] and instead they were beaten[57]. This evil custom came to an end owing to the efforts of Pt. Raj Kak Dhar[58]. Sometimes artisans and traders[60] of the city were also seized for *begar*. In the reign of Pratap

Singh the carpenters of Srinagar were forced by the police to work for government in "a distant region"[61]. On another occasion, the bricklayers fearing that the oppressive police intended making raids upon them fled the capital city of Kashmir for the hills in order to escape from forced labour. It was not until their return to Srinagar that construction work was resumed.[62]

A close examination of *begar* reveals that the tyrannical system had a baneful effect on socio-economic system of Kashmir. In the first place, it meant separation from family for a villager and in a majority of cases 'torture and death'[63]. Thousands of villagers are reported to have fallen an easy prey to frost-bite on the high mountain passes, where the camps were always haunted by cholera and starvation[64]. Many of the villagers must have died because of the stick administered to them by the cruel officials. Secondly, *begar* became the most injurious instrument in the hands of the wicked officials of the Maharajas[65]. "Every year the levy of coolies for Gilgit placed in the hands of the Tehsildars (the District Magistrates) great powers of oppression..." remarks Mr. Ernest Neve, "And from the chief of the local administration down to the humblest person of the Tehsil this was an unfailing source of income. Meanwhile, the poor and friendless, or those who had incurred the wrath of the authorities, were seized and sent off on the hated task of carrying loads, a thirteen days journey, over rough mountain tracks to Gilgit. Their condition was indeed little better than that of slaves"[66]. It is important to note that not a few of the villagers purchased their safety from *begar* by greasing the officials' palm[67]. They are said to have paid Rs. 70/- to 90/- per head so as to avoid carrying a load for one easy stage[68]. More important, the reported demands for coolies on the frontier region always haunted the villagers. This is why there took place increasing transference of land from the actual but desperate owners of soil to the officials in the Dogra period[69]. Villages were sold by the cultivators to the officers on a paltry sum in order to purchase exemption from corvee[79]. Thus villagers in many cases lost hereditary rights in land. From the position of the cultivators they were now reduced to the position of tenants, for they were now required to till the land for the officials. It is evident that the institution of *begar* and its accompanying blackmail created a new class of landed aristocracy in Kashmir[71].

Thirdly, *begar* often resulted in a total dislocation of agricultural and other economic activities. It was mostly conducted in summer months when the lofty mountain passes remained open. Thus at a time, when the villager's presence was a must in their fields, the crops suffered owing to their absence. In consequence the village was "impoverished and rendered incapable of paying its share of revenue to the State"[72]. Some villages became depopulated as a result of the tyrannical manipulation of the *corvee*. The village of Bandipore was described by Hugel a "deserted heap of ruins" than being "a large and well-peopled place"[73]. Moorcroft found the village of Tsirakoth "half-deserted and the few inhabitants that remained were the semblance of extreme wretchedness".[74]

Fourthly, the tyrannical system of *begar* hampered the growth of any labour class in Kashmir.

Lastly, owing to official bullying in the conduct of *begar* the villager became pessimistic.[75] He developed a somewhat fatalistic outlook on life and under the trying circumstances he became the worshipper of tyranny without any hope of redress, and without any authority to which he could appeal with the smallest hope of success, the villager found refuge in the shrines. But here too he was exploited to the maximum by the *Pirs, Pirzadas, Babzadas* etc. In fact, his special veneration for these custodian of shrines grew out of his extreme poverty. Neither the man nor nature took kindly to the poor villager. Not unoften he was tortured by natural calamities. The consequence of all this was degradation of morals in him. [76]

It is also important to remember that certain exemptions were made in the levy of *begar*. Pandits and Sikhs were always exempted. The reason why the Pandits earned exemption from *begar* is quite obvious. They were generally associated with the government because of their learning. Having acquired proficiency in persian they held important posts in administration even under the tyrannical rule of the Afghans[77], not to speak of their monopolisating the government offices during the subsequent regimes. But even more important is the fact that they were at home in arithmetical calculations. An attempt made by the Sikh Governor to replace the Pandit Accountants by men from the Punjab proved to be abortive as the new clerks could not discharge their duties satisfactorily.[76] It is then evident that local administration was always in the hands of the Kashmiri Pandits [79]. There is no doubt that they formed the main prop of all government in Kashmir. Hence their exemption from *Begar*.

Among others free from *corvee* must be mentioned the official classes, privileged landlords, *Jagirdars*, cultivators working on the land grants of the privileged classes and the *Pirzadas* and *Sayyids* [60]. The privileged landlords and *Jagirdars* included both Hindus and a few Muslims.

A word about the *Pirzadas*[81] and *Sayyids*[82]. They seem to have been in comfortable circumstances because of their connections with shrines. Most of them had taken to the trade of giving amulets to the ignorant believers. The *Pirs* had their disciples even in the Punjab.[63] It is worth noting that the priesthood constituted by the *Pirs* in Kashmir became the most exploiting agency. Because of the hold exercised by the *Pirs* over their followers, neither the Sikh nor the Dogra rulers deemed it politic to interfere with the practice of the *Pirs*. Nor did they encourage such reforms who wanted to free the masses from the clutches of the *Pir*.[84]

The fact remains that both official and priestly classes combined together to keep the masses under the spell of ignorance and darkness. This is amply borne out by the fact that gifts *(nazranas)* were always received by the *Pirs* from their rulers even when the latter trampled the *Pirs*' credulous followers under their feet. Never did the *Pirs* raise cry against the extortions demanded from their followers by the officials. This does not mean that the spiritual heads of the Muslim community lacked the qualities of leadership. But the mere fact that they were the beneficiaries of the Government prevented them from exhorting their followers to rise against the autocratic rule. It will be no digression to observe here that the Sayyids of Kashmir were no less privileged persons than the absentee landlords. Interesting to note is the fact that as late as third quarter of the last century, the land held by the *Pirzadas* was cultivated for them by their followers.[85]

The evils of *begar* began to be mitigated only after the British intervention in Kashmir[86]. The construction of the Gilgit road[87] and the opening of the Jehlam Valley road in 1890 helped in no small measure in alleviating the sufferings of the villagers. Sir Walter Lawrence attempted to make a fundamental change in the purpose of forced labour[88]. He advocated the use of the system as a method of mobilsing and using labour for purposes of economic development.[89] In actual fact, he was not in favour of forced labour as a means of official coercion.[90] The growth of tourist industry in Kashmir played no unimportant role in lessening the rigours of begar. With the increasing rush of European travellers to the Valley, it became a common practice to requisition labour at normal wages[91]. Also, some semi-European settlers in Kashmir rendered relief to the poor villagers by employing them in preparing gardens,[92] repairing roads[93] etc. Rules were framed by the State Council to control the labour for carrying articles of daily use in the State by labourers. It was resolved in 1891 that an additional cess at one anna in Jammu and half an anna in Kashmir for every rupee of land revenue paid by cultivators be imposed to meet the cost of a transport department. The resolution also provided for the permanent employment of a force of 1,000 labourers and 200 pack ponies. The wages of the labourer was fixed at Rs. 5/- per month[94]. Consequently, labourers began to come forward voluntarily. The rate of wages was increased from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 8/- in 1906[95].

It should, however, be remembered that the use of force in recruiting labour was not given up in 1906[96]. In fact, the problem of forced labour continued to exist till the earlier period of Maharaja Hari Singh's reign despite the Government's orders against the forcible requisition of the labourers[97]. In many cases the officials of the Maharaja flouted his orders and villagers were often employed by them for carrying their baggage free of charge over long distances.[98] Besides, the officers would "indent on villagers for other services without remuneration."[99] It was not until the mass uprising of 1931 that *begar* was completely abolished in Kashmir[100].

FOOT NOTES :

1. *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana (Stein's translation), Book V, verses 172-174. p. 209 and foot-note.

2. Ibid; Kalhana refers to thirteen kinds of *corvee* in verse 174 of the fifth book, but in the absence of any other historical evidence it is difficult to specify them. As for the term *rudhabharodhi*, it recurs in Book VII, verse 1088, "where exemption from this impost is mentioned as a privilege granted to the Purohitas of a temple. Possibly, the term included, like the modern *Kar-begar*, the various requisitions for village produce, until recently free of payment, which could be made by officials." Ibid; p. 209 n; Comp. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, (London, 1905) p. 414.

3. *Rajtarangni,* (stein), Book V. Verse 174

4. Ibid and note.

5. Ibid, Book VII. Verse No. 1088; see also ibid, Book V, note 172-174.

6. Ibid, Book VIII, p. 197, Verses 2509-13 and note.

7. Stein very rightly observes: The system of forced carriage by villagers "is not likely to have been worked with greater leniency in Kalhana's days than in modern times. We may safely conclude from the author's (Kalhana) discreet allusion that the success of Dhanya's commissariat arrangements was attained at the expense of human life and human suffering, perhaps not smaller than that which accompanied generally the annual transport of stores for the Gilgit garrison until the construction of the 'Gilgit Road' a few years ago". Ibid.

8. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Srinagar, 1974, p. 250. Mr. P. N. Bamzai attributes the improved condition of the peasants during the 'Muslim rule in Kashmir' to 'political consciousness' of the people, who according to him "resisted the imposition of begar". (A History of Kashmir, Delhi, 1962, p. 453). This view, however, is absurd and not borne out by the facts of history. In sober fact, the people of Kashmir had not acquired 'political consciousness' as late as the closer of the last century. It is a hard fact that they remained quite passive till 1931, though occasionally the shawl weavers had tended to manifest a spirit of revolt against intolerable conditions.

9. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, XXIII, p. 51.

10. Mohibbul Hassan, op. cit. p. 251.

11. Abul Fazal, *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochman), second edition, Delhi. 1965, p. 90.

12. Ibid.

13. One Kashmiri *Trak* was equal to eight seers of the time of Akbar. See Abul Fazl. op. cit. p. 90 n.

14. Ibid. p. 90

15. Ibid.

16. Lawrence, op. cit. p. 196 n.

17. Abul Fazl, op. cit. p. 90

18. Khawja Azam Diddamari, Tarikh-i-Azam, printed by M/s Ghulam Mohammad and Noor Mohammad, Srinagar, pp. 138-39.

19 A stone-slab fixed up in the southern gate of the Jama mosque Srinagar containing the farman of Shah Jahan bears ample testimony to the care taken by the Emperor for the welfare of his subjects.

20. Diddamari, op. cit, pp. 138-39

21 See farman of Shah Jahan inscribed on a stone-slab in Jama mosque, Srinagar

22. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, (Reprint, Delhi, 1968), p 392.

23 Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Pir Hassan Shah, Tarikh-i-Kashmir (Urdu translation), p. 472

26. R. K Parimoo, *A history of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, Delhi, 1969. p. 364.

27. Pir Hassan Shah, op. cit. p. 472.

28 Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Mir Saif Ullah, *Tarikh Nama Kashmir*, p. 19. I have consulted the transcript of Gh. Ahmad Mahjoor the famous poet of Kashmir. The original manuscript is difficult to read. It is in possession of his son.

31. He was the Governor of Kashmir during 1842-45. His successor Imam-ud-Din was defeated by Raja Gulab Singh in 1846.

32. Saif Ullah, op. cit, p. 19; Pir Hassan Shah, op. cit, p. 536-37; Pir Hassan Shah says that there was a great hullabaloo in Kashmir when 10.000 villagers were forced to go to Ladakh. Ibid.

33. William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir*, Vol. II, London, 1841 (Reprint 1971), p. 232-33.

34. Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab*, London, 1845, p. 164-65.

35. Moorcroft, op. cit.. p. 294.

36. Baron Schonberg, *Travels in India and Kashmir*, Vol. II, London, 1853, p. 73-74.

37. Maharaja Gulab Singh is said to have taken up the question of *begar*. His biographer writes that the Maharaja's "idea was to determine a certain number of men in each village who would be considered liable to do labour when called upon by the Government. For this they were to be paid one *Kharwar* of rice per month and their food when employed. Men not called upon to do *begar* in the course of the year were only to be paid six Kharwars for the year. An officer was appointed to take charge of this work." See para K.M. Pannikar, The Founding of the Kashmir State (London, 1930) p. 136.

It cannot be denied that Gulab Singh's idea was less prone to abuse than any other scheme that could desired under the circumstances. But Dr. Pannikar in his bid to prove the ameliorating zeal of Gulab Singh deliberately omits to mention that the Maharaja's idea was never put into force by servile and corrupt officials. In fact, Pannikar's work suffers from political opportunism as he seems to have concealed many strak realities in regard to the prevalence of begar in Gulab Singh's reign.

38. Mirza Saif-ud-Din, Akhbarat (MS), 1851 Vol. IV, 62ab, 64b, 66a, 67b, 70b, 74a. Other volumes of these *Akhbarat* are also replete with details regarding *begar;* See also Taylor. Lahore Political Diaries (Punjab Government Records), Vol. VI, p. 71.

39. Mirza Saif-ud-Din, op. cit., Vol. IV, f. 62b.

40. Ibid, f. 51a

41. Ibid, f. 64b

42. How corrupt and self-seeking adventurers were Gulab Singh's officers that they even tries to delude Lt. Taylor into believing that *begar* had been abolished in Kashmir, See Taylor, op. cit p. 87.

43. Diary of Pundit Khunya Lal (Lahore Political Diaries), Vol. VI, p. 260.

44. Diary of P. Sandys Melvill (Lahore Political Diaries), Vol. VI, p. 204

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Andrew Wilson. The Abode of Snow (Reprint) London. 1886, pp 287-88

48. For a detailed study on the British policy towards Gilgit, Chitral, Hunza etc. see a recent publication under the title Kashmiri in Translation (1885-1893), 1975, Calcutta by Prof. Dilip Kumar Ghose.

49. Khalil Mirjanpuri, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (transcript), Vol. II, No. II, No. 800 O.R.L., P. 309; Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*. London, 1922, p. 236.

50. Lawrence, op. cit, p. 413.

51. Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, London, 1913, p. 139-40.

52. Lawrence, op. cit. p. 414

53. Ibid.

54. Mirza Saif-ud-Din, op. cit, IV, f. 62a

55. Mir Saif Ullah, op. cit, p. 60,81

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid. p. 87-88

59. Robert Thorp, *Cashmere Misgovernment*, (*Kashmir Papers*, Srinagar. 1973, p. 74).

60. Ibid.

61. Knight, op. cit, p. 69-70

62. Ibid.

63. Robert Thorp, op. cit, p. 74; see also Khalil Mirjanpuri, op. cit, p. 309

64. Arthur Neve, op. cit, p. 139; see also Lawrence. op. cit, p. 413; Khalil Mirjanpuri, op. cit, p. 309

65. Knight, op. cit, p. 68; Lawrence, op. cit. p. 412

66. Ernest Neve, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, London, 1915, pp. 53-54

67. Under such compelling circumstances the burden of *begar* always fell on such poor and unprotected villages that could not afford to purchase safety.

68. Lawrence. op. cit, p. 314

69. See Papers regarding debate in the British House of Commons on Kashmir affairs, National Archives of India, New Delhi/Foreign, Dec. 1890, Secret. E. Nos. 196-211, p. 15

70. Ibid; Lawrence, op. cit, p. 414. Mr. Lawrence has said that all these illegal

sales were cancelled. Two points should, however, be kept in view in this regard. First, the officials continued to intimate the villagers even after Lawrence's Settlement. Secondly, considering the enormous prestige, influence and power enjoyed by the bureaucrats, it is doubtful as to whether there was wholesale annulment of their illegal sales.

71. Most of the officials were from the urban background and there was a tendency among them to become landlords. See, for instance, Lawrence's letter, Nov. 13, 1899, to Col. Nisbet, National Archives of India/Foreign, Feb. 1891, Secret E. 295-326. It is necessary to remember that the corrupt and cruel manipulation of corvee by officials made them acquire land very easily. This resulted in absentee landlordism.

72. E.F. Knight, Op. cit. p. 68; see also Mirza Saif-ud-Din, op. cit, IV, f. 62a

73 Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab*, London, 1845, pp. 164-65

74. Moorcroft, op. cit, II, p. 235

75. Lawrence wrote to Nisbet: "...the Kashmiri cultivator attributes all his misery and meanness to *begar*". See National Archives India/Foreign, Feb. 1891, Secret E, 295-96. p. 21.

76. Lawrence, op. cit, p. 412; Knight, op. cit, p. 69; *Glancy Commissions Report*, p. 39.

77. Writting about the position of Pandits during the Pathan rule in Kashmir, Dr. R.K. Parimoo observes: "For the first time we come across names of Kashmiri Pandits who shot into prominence as administrators, revenue collectors and diplomats". He further notes, "The best example was Pandit Nand Ram Tiku who rose from a humble station to be *diwan* of Kabul. Other examples are Pandits Mahanand Dhar, Kailash Dhar, Dila Ram Quli. Sahaz Ram Sapru, Diwan Munshi Bhawani Das, Vasa Kak Dhar, Diwan Hara Das, Balabadhar Dhar (Bhir Dhar), Raj Kak Dhar, etc. who acted as *Tehsildars*, *Sahibkars* (chief secretaries), *Peshkaras* (Magistrtes and collectors) and *Diwans* (collectors general) of the Afghan governors". op. cit, p. 352 & n; Pandit Birbal Dhar who was instrumental in bringing about the downfall of the Pathan rule in Kashmir held a high position under the Afghans.

78. Schonberg. op. cit, pp. 101 and 105

79. They were always placed in posts of trust by their successive conquerors because of their "superior education" Terrens, *Travel in Ladakh, Tartary and Kashmir*, London, 1863, p. 302.

80. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 412; Glancy Commission's Report, p. 39.

81. According to Lawrence, the *Pirzadas* were considered to be descendants of Sayyids, saints and Makhdum Sahib, op. cit, p. 291.

82. Lawrence writes: "The general opinion seems to be that Sayyids stands first in the hierarchy of Kashmir...". Even the Muslims living in various parts of India held the Sayyids of Kashmir in high esteem. Lawrence further notes: "I have been impressed with the fact, and have received many letters from influential Musalmans in India, asking me to assist Sayyids of little position and less power in their own country". Op. Cit, p. 291 & note.

83. Ibid

84. Based on my Ph.D. thesis, "Srinagar 1846-47, Socio-Cultural Change".

85. Lawrence, op. cit, p. 291

86. The supersession of Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1889 caused a good deal of discussion in the British House of Commons. It was argued by Sir John Gorst, the under Secretary of State for India, that Pratap was superseded not only on the basis of grave personal charges against him but also on the continued mal-administration in the state. "He, amused the House by taunting Bradlaugh, a Radical, for taking up the cause of an Oriental Prince under whose despotic rule, he alleged, the scourge of forced labour had been imposed upon the people with utmost severity." Gosh, Op. cit, p. 112.

87. Knight, op. cit, p. 67

88. Ibid. p. 70

89. Lawrence observed that in a country like Kashmir the system of forced labour must be regarded as a stern necessity so long as improved communications did not provide for a greater mobility between one place and another. Its sudden abolition at any rate would, as Nisbet put it, cause a great deal of confusion and difficulty both to the Government and the people". Gosh, op. cit, p. 124

90. Knight, op. cit, pp. 68-69

91 Sir Francis Younghusband writes : In Ranbir Singh's time "coolies who were engaged to carry loads for travellers had to give up half their earnings". Kashmir, London, 1917, p. 261.

92 Henry's Report, NAI/Foreign, A Political E. Sept. 1882, Nos. 253-65.

93. Based on my Ph. D., thesis

94. J & K Government Records, File No. 34 of 1891.

95. Ibid. file No. 77-p/100 of 1906

96. For opposite view see Bamzai, op. cit. p. 636

97. *Glancy Commission's Report*, p. 39

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.

100. The newspapers published in and outside the Jammu and Kashmir State played an important role in exposing the evils of begar in Kashmir. See for instance, *The Pate Khan, Lahore*, Aug: 6. 1890 (RNNP, 1890, p. 302); *Guru Ghantal*, January 3, 1927 (quoted in Mr. Rashid Tasir's *Tarikh-i-Hurriyat-i Kashmir*, pp. 74-75); Muluk Raj Saraf, *Fifty Years as a Journalist*, Jammu, 1967, p. 43.

Bad times have a scientific value. These are occasions a good learner would not miss.

—Emerson

Sheikh Sodagar and his Eminent Dynasty

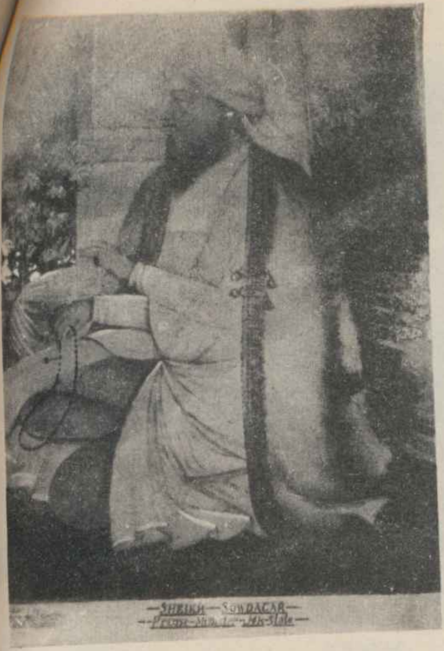
(Dr. Sheikh Mohd. Iqbal)

Even before the British deal on Kashmir's alienation, Sheikh Sodagar occupied a pedestal which was not less than that of the Wazir. On 16 Assuj, 1905 Bikrami, he was promoted to the position of Madar-ul-Maham under Maharaja Gulab Singh.

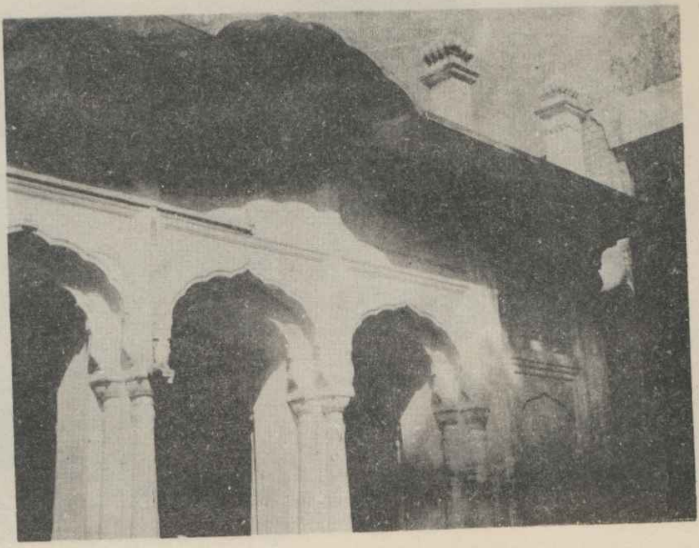
In the Record Office at Mubarak Mandi, Jammu, there hangs an uncared for photograph (painting) of a Mughal type statesman-soldier, named Sheikh Sodagar. He and Sheikh Peer Bakhsh came of an old family of converts to Islam. They had their interests both in Sialkot and Jammu. The geneological table of the dynasty which is presently available begins with Sheikh Maula Bakhsh. The eventful life of Sheikh Sodagar forms part of a rich history. However, his essential contribution is still under investigation. He gave a new lease of life to the Sachchar Sheikhs of Jammu, who are now spread over the Punjab (Pakistan), Jammu and even the Valley of Kashmir.

The credit for publishing the first note on Sheikh Sodagar goes to the editor of the Ranbir, Jammu, who issued a Souvenir on the completion of a century of Dogra Rule in 1946. The editor who also brought out an Encyclopaedia of the State seems to have obtained a little information regarding the Sheikh from his two great grandsons, namely, Sheikh Mohd. Sardar and Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal. It is astonishing to note that in his work, *Gulab Singh,* the late K. M. Panikkar, did not mention the role of Sheikh Sodagar as one of the makers of Jammu and Kashmir State. The present writer addressed a letter to him which remained unreplied. In hastily compiling a brief account of the Maharaja, the motive of the author was, probably, to win favours of the then ruler of the State.

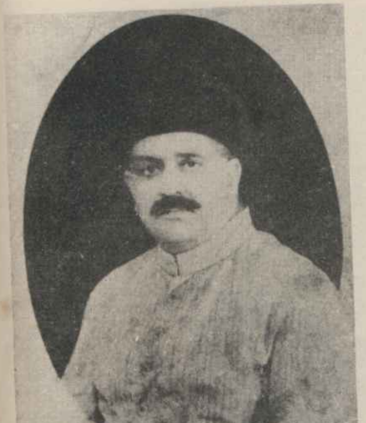
At this particular stage it is difficult to describe at length the merits and achievements of Sheikh Sodagar and his reputed children. Some of his survivors headed by his grandson, Sheikh Rahmatullah, crossed into Pakistan in 1947 for want of safety and took with him important documents and papers. The writer having failed to visit Pakistan since its birth could not ascertain whether Sheikh Rahmatullah is alive or not. Some years back he was said to be in his eighties. The latest efforts at Jammu to know things about the great Sheikh did not fetch good dividends. The writer has, therefore, depended on the Souvenir of the Ranbir and the manuscripts of the Research Department. As for the photographs


—SHEIKH — SOWDAGAR—

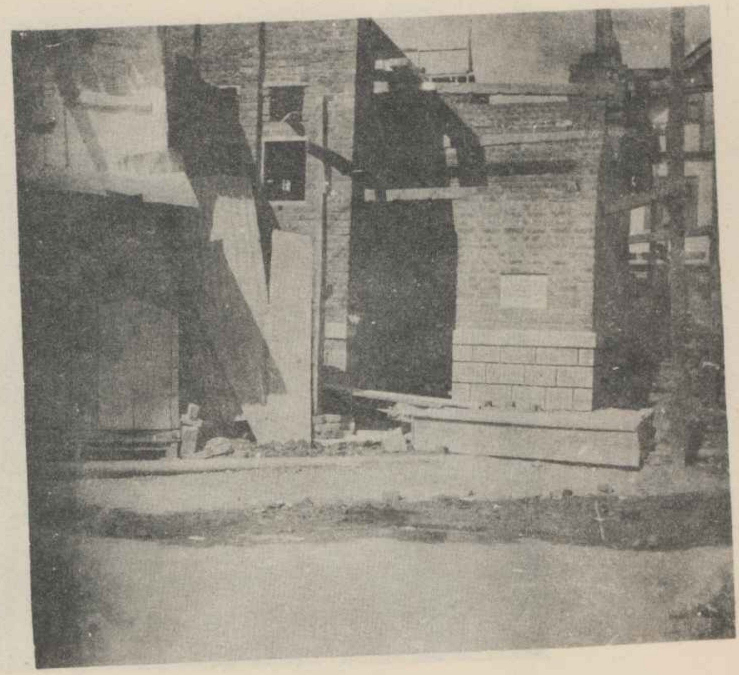
A photograph (painting) of Sheikh Sodagar, Prime Minister of Gulab Singh.



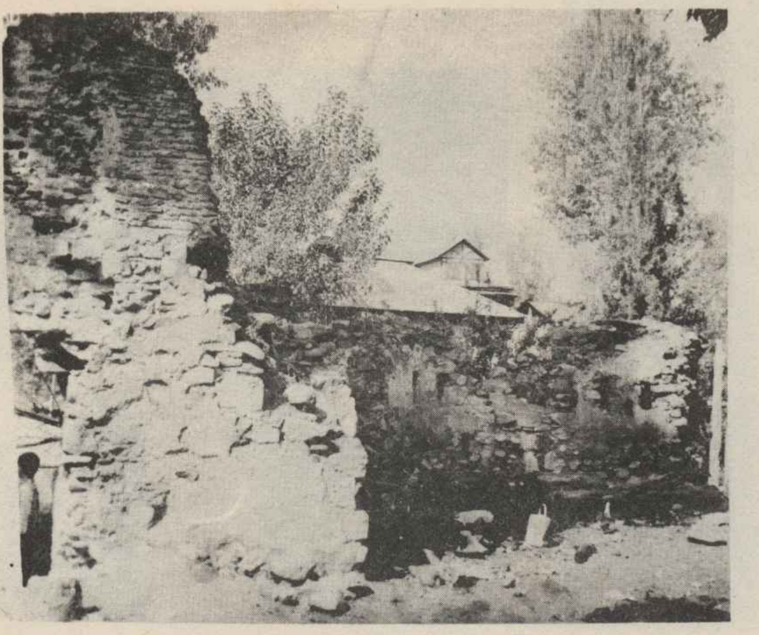
The exterior view of the mosque constructed by Sheikh Sodagar (Prime Minister of Maharaja Gulab Singh). The mosque is situated adjacent to his Haweli at Julaka Mohalla, Jammu.



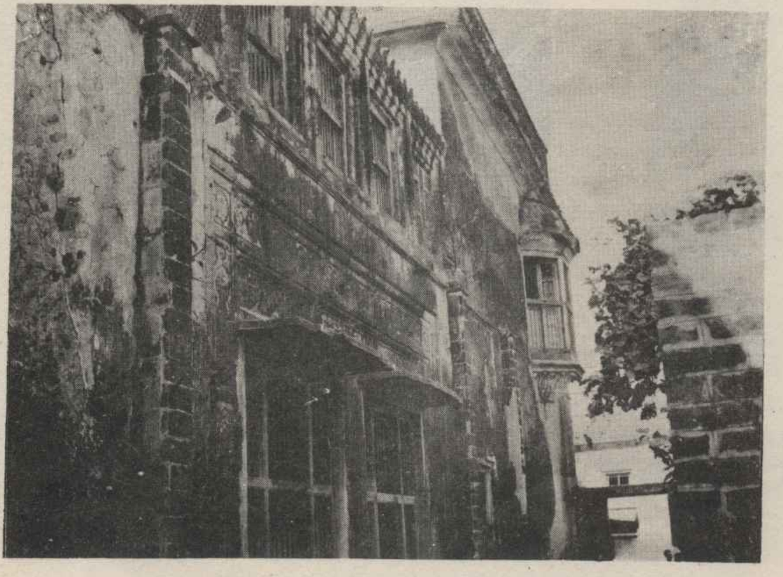
Late Sheikh Abd-ur-Rahim, son of Sheikh Imam-ud-Din s/o Sheikh Sodagar, Prime Minister (Madar-ul-Maham) of Maharaja Gulab Singh.



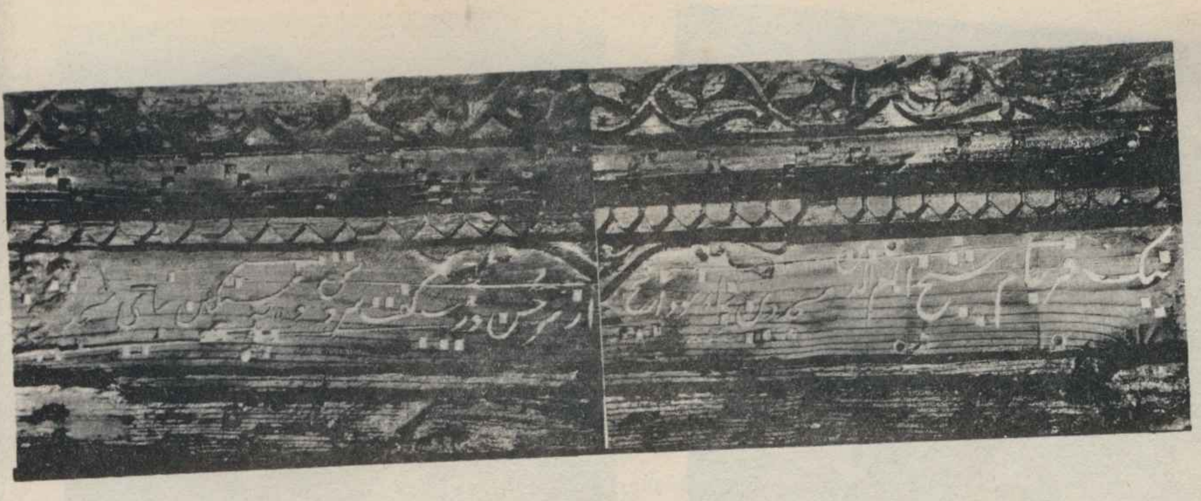
Qila mosque at Shaheedgunj (near Old Sectt.) founded by Sheikh Imam-ud-Din s/o Sheikh Sodagar in 1304 A.H. It is being reconstructed these days.



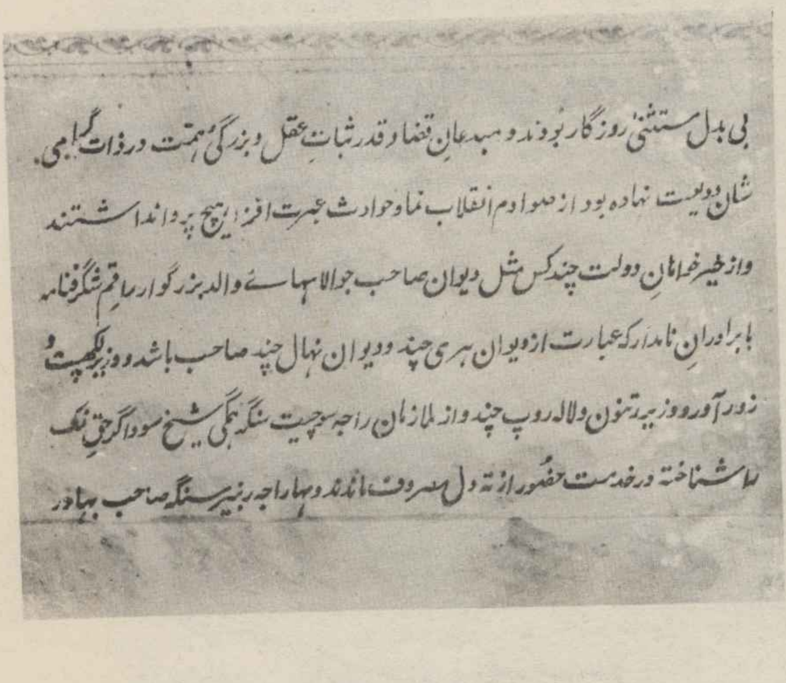
*Ramparts of a Fort of **Sikh** and Dogra periods of Kashmir situated at Shaheedgunj near Sheikh Imam-ud-Din mosque called Qila mosque.*



A side view of the Haweli of Sheikh Sodagar.

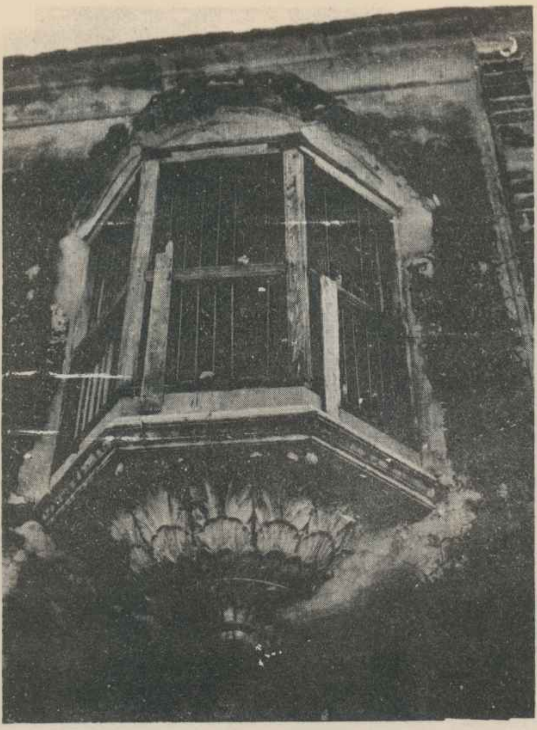


Upper jamb of main wooden door of Qila Mosque. Inscription extolls Sheikh Imam -ud-Din's work and gives 1304 A.H. as the date of founding.

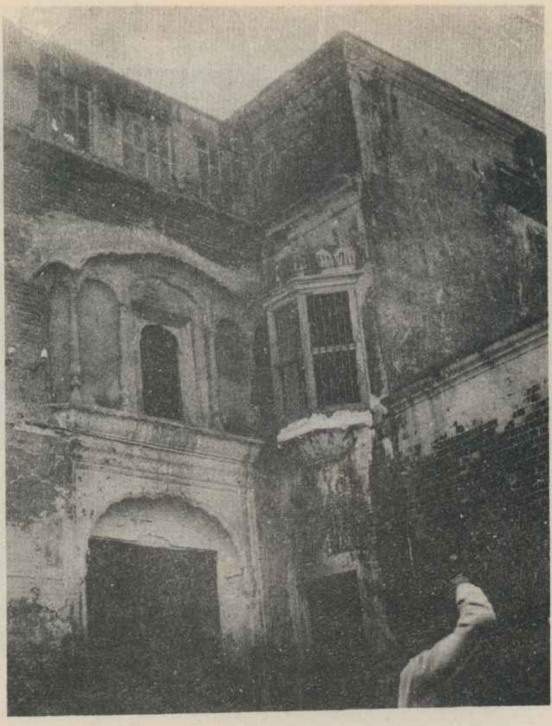


بی بدل مستثنیٰ روزگار بودند و مبدعان قضا و قدر ثبات عقل و بزرگی و همت در ذات گرامی
شان ودیعت نهاده بود از صدمات انقلاب نما و حوادث عبرت افزا هیچ پروا نداشتند
و از خیر خواهان دولت چند کس مثل دیوان صاحب جوالا سهائے والد بزرگوار راقم شگرفنامه
با برادران نامدار که عبارت از دیوان هری چند و دیوان نهال چند صاحب باشد و وزیر لکهپت و
زور آور و وزیر رتنو و لاله روپ چند و از ملازمان راجه سوچیت سنگه همگی شیخ سوداگر حق نمک
را شناخته در خدمت حضور از ته دل مصروف ماندند و مهاراجه رنبیر سنگه صاحب بهادر

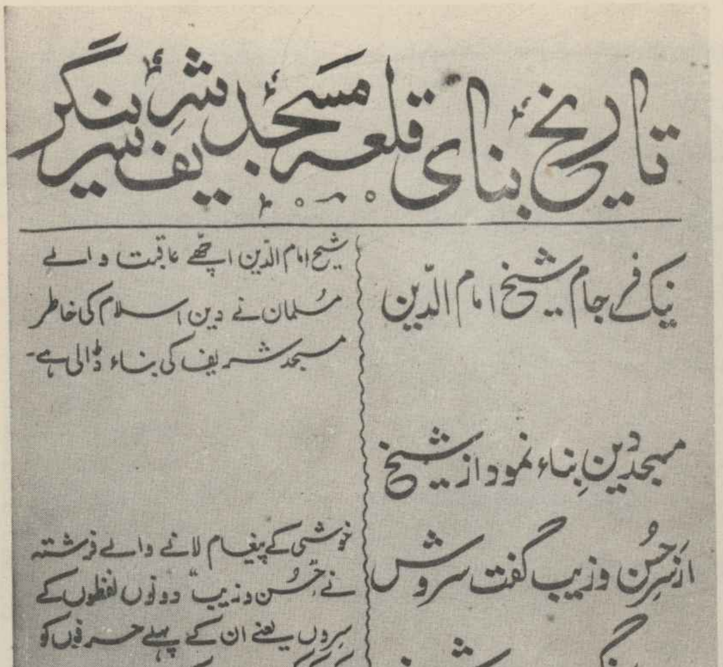
An extract from Diwan Kirpa Ram's Gulab-Nama, page 305, highlighting the role of Sheikh Sodagar and other eminent men of Jammu.



Balcony of Sheikh Sodagar's Haweli (mansion) at Julaka Mohalla, Jammu—Mid 19th Century



Main-Gate of Sheikh Sodagar's Haweli.



تاریخ بنای قلعہ مسجد شریف سرینگر

نیک فرجام شیخ امام الدین
مسجدِ دین بناء نمود از شیخ
از سرِ حُسن و زیب گفت سروش
وہ چہ سنگین بنای مسجد شیخ
۱۳۰۴ھ

شیخ امام الدین اچھے عاقبت والے
مسلمان نے دین اسلام کی خاطر
مسجد شریف کی بناء ڈالی ہے۔

خوشی کے پیغام لانے والے فرشتہ
نے "حُسن و زیب" دونوں لفظوں کے
سروں یعنی ان کے پہلے حرفوں کو
دیکھ کر کہا ہے۔ کہ
کیا ہی اچھی اور مضبوط مسجد شریف
کی بناء شیخ نے ڈالی ہے۔"

The quartrain in Persian inscribed on the upper jamb of the wooden door of Qila Mosque, giving its founders name and the date 1304 A.H.

of the relevant sites at Srinagar and Jammu, which appear in this issue, they were taken on the directions of the writer. The amount of cooperation given by the descendants of the Sheikh, who live at Julaka Mohalla, Jammu, is appreciable indeed.

The first recorded evidence of the meritorious services of the Sheikh and his ancestors or elders is that contained in the *Patta* granted to him in perpetuity by Raja Suchet Singh in Assuj 1899 Bikrami. The *Patta* in which the Raja paid a glowing tribute to the Sheikh is reproduced below :

> Whereas the ancestors of Sheikh Sodagar, the ***refuge of greatness and nobility, the knower of our secrets,*** out of loyalty to the house of our ancestors, have from the earliest times never failed us, has been so honest and laborious in the discharge of duties and has entertained no other intention but that which contributed to our well-being and was a proof of fidelity towards us; therefore we express our satisfaction and pleasure with the family of the Sheikh. Wherever be a descendant from our House, he shall on no account forget to look after this family and keep up its dignity. As for ourselves, we have with the Grace of Almighty never deviated from what we have written and never shall do so in future.

Another Patta was granted by Rani Glori of Raja Suchet Singh in which the Sheikh was praised for his extreme honesty which he had demonstrated by delivering the entire Jewellery of Toshkhana to the charge of the Rani.

When Raja Gulab Singh ascended the gaddi, the Sheikh had already established his fame by efficiently conducting the affairs of the State. He proved a beau-ideal of a soldier, caretaker and companion in the formative period of that Raja. His assistance and counsel was valued and made best of during the last years of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore. In military campaigns and in administering the affairs of Government he showed his ability and excellence. That is why on one occasion when Sheikh Sodagar declined to act as Wazir the Maharaja wrote to him :

> You are loyal by the Grace of Almighty and there is none else like you whom we could entrust with such duties. Therefore you should take up the work of the Wazir of Jammu and do not be indeterminate.

It is obvious that the Sheikh's services to the State were indispensable because of his outstanding capability and merit. He was a pluralist throughout from the view point of his official position and powers. On 7 Phagan, 1909 Bikrami, Maharaja Gulab Singh signed a document in appreciation of the services of the Sheikh to the State. The document reads :

> In lieu of gentleness, cooperation, patriotism, loyalty in *handling external affairs* of the State efficiently and for maintenance of accounts of all sorts accurately and selflessly, I hereby execute this PATTA by way of appreciation in favour of Sheikh Sodagar, in order that Sheikh Sahib's coming generations may be benefited. Whosoever be my successor, he will not leave any stone unturned to

> respect the Sheikh Sahib's dynasty and none would do otherwise, By the grace of Shri Narayan Ji Maharaj, I am writing these words and affirm that this would be acted upon without any hitch or hesitation.

Diwan Kirpa Ram, son of Diwan Jawala Sahai, who wrote his *Gulabnamah* in elegant Persian has made casual references to the Sheikh whom he regards as one of the most prominent and constructive men of the time. On pages 304 and 305, he mentions how the authorities at Lahore instructed Sheikh Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, Governor of Kashmir, to prepare troops for the conquest of Kishtwar and to suppress the insurgents in the surrounding areas of Jammu. These rebels were, probably, instigated by some "external agency". Yet in a very critical situation some of the eminent men stood by the side of Gulab Singh and combined to set at naught all intrigues against the Jammu Darbar. The Diwan writes :

> On the other hand, the Lahore Darbar and Dalip Singh sent a message to Sheikh Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, Subedar of Kashmir, directing him to reorganise his troops to conquer the people of Kishtwar. He was also ordered to suppress the revolt staged in the surrounding areas of Jammu so that Raja Gulab Singh, who has no match in...wisdom and courage, does not get discouraged. The Maharaja was not at all perturbed at these adverse developments. His well-wishers including Diwan Jawala Sahai, father of the writer and his brothers, Diwan Hari Chand, Diwan Nihal Chand, Wazir Lakhpat, Wazir Zorawar Singh, Wazir Ratnu and officers of Raja Suchet Singh and especially Sheikh Sodagar, proved their utmost faithfulness and loyalty to the Maharaja at this hour of crisis.

During a score of years of the reigns of Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh, one Mirza Saif-ud-Din was appointed by the British as *Mukhbir* (Informant) in Kashmir. His invaluable volumes contain wealth of information on Dogra Administration. He gives the common and uncommon acts and events of that period of Kashmir's history. In these volumes (called Saif-ud-Din Papers), the author has at some places mentioned the name of Sheikh Sodagar. But the information on the subject is scanty for the reason that the Mirza had to concentrate on Dogra Government in the Valley. One can with confidence conclude that he did not know the details about the conduct of administration in Jammu region which was very much in the hands of Sheikh Sodagar. A few statements quoted below from the papers should reveal that the Mirza did not ignore to mention things about Jammu when he got information. Thus, while referring to the command of the Maharaja to Diwan Jawala Sahai regarding improvement of revenue system etc. he records :

> On 12 September a *parwana* was sent to Diwan Jawala Sahai at Jammu directing him to take steps for securing settlement of all revenue accounts of Jammu Illaqas and arrange early recoveries of the outstanding revenues from all the Kardars. A similar *parwana* was sent to Sheikh Sodagar and the Daftar-i-Diwani, directing them to pursue this matter on the same lines on which it was being done during the days of the late Maharaja. All such accounts had to be got verified and attested by Diwan Jawala Sahai who was authorised to sign pay-bills and all receipts and expen-

> diture statements under his own seal. He was directed not to send the papers to the Maharaja for obtaining Sahih-i-khas (Signatures). On 13 September, Shera, the Kumedan, was deputed to Jammu, to work there under the supervision and guidance of Diwan Jawal Sahai. But, he was asked to secretly keep a watch on the activities of the Diwan and pass on, confidentially, informative reports to the Maharaja.

That the Kumedan should have been deputed apparently to work under the Diwan and actually to watch the activities of the minister shows that the Maharaja depended less on the Diwan and more on some one else. The dignitary whom he trusted more was no one other than Sheikh Sodagar. This the writer has inferred from the Pattas executed for the Sheikh.

The Sheikh was once obliged to run the risk of saving the life of the members of the ruling family during an epidemic. The Mirza says :

> In connection with the outbreak of cholera the Sheikh was directed to take the Ranis, including the Rani of Raja Jawahir Singh to the Bahu fortress for (protection) and change of air.

The documentary evidence adduced above must necessarily favour the view that Sheikh Sodagar's lineage was remarkably distinct for the reason that his ancestors were very much respected. As for himself he was a dynamic leader, a man of devotion and extraordinary ability. His qualities of head and heart were immense. It was for strong reasons that Maharaja Gulab Singh called him "god of nobility", a soldier who knew "military and war tactics" and "strictly honest". In his own capacity, Sheikh Sodagar was the famed Hatam of Jammu and Sialkot. The instance of his hospitality has thus been recorded by Mirza Saif-ud-Din :

> While the Maharaja was encamped in Sialkot, on his way to Jammu, Sheikh Sodagar who was a resident of Sialkot arranged a feast for all officials of the Maharaja and Mian Sahib (Ranbir Singh) and the rest of the retinue.

In connection with the domicile of the Sheikh it may be said again that he was as much connected with Sialkot as he was attached to Jammu.

There is yet another example of his liberality and munificence to quote. On 10 November 1835, the Administration of the Punjab issued a letter of appreciation to Sheikh Sodagar and expressed its thanks on behalf of the public for having constructed a *sarai,* a road, a bridge, a canal and a garden with an amount of Rs. 40,000.

It will be remembered that Sheikh Sodagar's ancestors held their own status in the Rajdom of Jammu. Even before the British deal on Kashmir's alienation, Sheikh Sodagar occupied a pedestal which was not less than that of the Wazir who did everything on behalf of the Government. And when Kashmir was annexed and the Dogra political hegemony extended to the Valley and beyond, the Sheikh had attained his full glory. There was no matter, be it social, political, financial or military, which he did not and would not attend to or accomplish. At times, the Maharaja expected of him to act as his Chief Representative.

From the records it transpires that the ultimate position which the Sheikh held was that of the *Madar-ul-Maham* or the Prime Minister. To this position he was raised on 16 Assuj, 1905 Bikrami. According to one dependable source the Sheikh breathed his last on 26 Har, 1921 Bikrami.

The Sheikh's sons and his nephews were not destined to play as vital a role as he had played in his mature years. Among his sons, the eldest was Sheikh Fateh Mohammad who was invested by Maharaja Ranbir Singh soon after Sheikh Sodagar's demise. But he died of a train accident at Sialkot leaving two sons, Haji Abdullah and Sheikh Rahmatullah. The former seems to have been deputed to England for administrative training and was appointed Wazir-i-Wazarat, Srinagar—Islamabad (Anantnag). But before he could join his new post, he suddenly passed away in the night preceding the day on which he was to take over. He was then putting up in a house-boat near Tanki Kadal. He was buried in the Pir Shah Cemetery at Shahidganj, Srinagar, where the writer's grand-father, grand-mother and other members of the Sheikh family have been laid to rest. It is probable that Haji Abdullah visited Mecca while going to or coming from London.

Haji Abdullah left two beautiful sons, namely, Sheikh Mohd. Sardar and Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal. The former was Assistant Controller in S. 2001 and was married to the daughter of the veteran political leader, Sheikh Abdul Hamid of Jammu. Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal who was married to his cousin, served as Inspector of Police in 1947. Official injustices and his domestic conditions forced him out of the State and he resettled at Sialkot. Their uncle, Sheikh Rahmatullah, though cultured, was a strange sort of man, extravagant to the core and less farsighted. The writer's aunt would tell him that the young Sheikh considered himself a pauper or the humblest in Jammu if he had on his person only Rs. 5,000/- on a particular day. He left no son but daughters. One of these, Badshah Bibi (married to her cousin S. Ghulam Mustafa) is still living at Julaka Mohalla, Jammu.

Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, who distinguished himself in the whole family functioned as Wazir-i-Wazarat in Kashmir. He held the same post in 1304 A. H. when he built the Qila Mosque at Shahidganj near the old palace. Imam-ud-Din also acted as the Governor of Kashmir for a short while. Two sons, Sheikh Abd-ur-Rahim and Sheikh Abdul Ghani survived him. The former was the Inspector of Police and headed Thana Sher Garhi. He was a great disciplinarian and could manage the Muharram celebrations single-handed. Sheikh Abdul Ghani served as Asstt. Superintendent of Police in the reign of His late Highness, Maharaja Hari Singh. Abd-ur-Rahim was stabbed in 1947 and died at Digyana camp. The pathetic story of his death was related to the writer in 1950 (then Dy. Custodian, Jammu) by one Pt. Shyam Lal Jalali who had worked under him. One of his sons, Sheikh Abd-ur-Rashid, was also shot down in the communal riots. Sheikh Mohammad Saeed, a well-educated son of Sheikh Abd-ur-Rahim is still living in Pakistan. The children of his eldest brother, late Sheikh Abdul Qadir (Tehsildar) continue at Jammu. Of these the eldest daughter is in Pakistan while a son Sheikh Abd-ur-Rauf serves in the Directorate of Fire Services at Kathua. In good qualities and features, Sheikh Rauf represents his true and noble ancestors. Sheikh Abdul Ghani died in

Pakistan and all his children reside in the Pakistani Punjab.

Among other sons of Sheikh Sodagar, Sheikh Aziz-ud-Din served as a Tehsildar. He died in S. 1976 and left one female heir. From her we have Sheikh Inayat Ilahi who resides in Julaka Mohalla, Jammu. His only son is Ata Ilahi, an officer of long standing in Education Department. To him goes the credit of securing 528 Kanals of land as gift from the various local people for construction of schools. A fourth son of the grand Sheikh was Shihab--ud-Din, who left two sons, Ghulam Mustafa and Ghulam Murtaza. The latter retired as Dy. Registrar co-operatives and is still living. The former's wife (Badshah Bibi) and her children reside at Jammu.

The other direct wing of the dynasty of Sheikh Maula Bakhsh is that which was headed by Sheikh Peer Bakhsh, who was the Wazir of Raja Suchet Singh. Probably, he preceded Sheikh Sodagar as the Minister of the said Raja. The writer could not obtain details about Sheikh Umar Bakhsh the son of Sheikh Peer Bakhsh. He left two sons, Sh. Nabi Bakhsh and Sheikh Miran Bakhsh. The former managed the estates of the whole family of the Sheikhs. He left no issue. The latter was serving in Tawaza Department under Maharaja Pratap Singh. The present writer is the third grand-son of Sheikh Miran Bakhsh, the other two being Sheikh Ghulam Husain (in Pakistan) and Sheikh Rahmatullah (in Srinagar). He has three male and eight female cousins. Two daughters of Sheikh Miran Bakhsh are presently living at Srinagar.

This brief account of the dynasty of Sheikh Maula Bakhsh will remain incomplete without making a mention of one more aspect of its role. It is connected with the buildings erected by its affluent members and their assets which have become mostly ineffective. The mansion in which Sheikh Peer Bakhsh lived is not traceable. But Sheikh Sodagar did possess a palacial residence at Sialkot. In its spacious garden there was well from where the State imported leeches for the purification of human blood. It was reportedly sold by Sheikh Rahmatullah the grandson of Sheikh Sodagar. There exists even now the Haveli of Sheikh Sodagar at Mohalla Julaka, Jammu, but it has lost its impressiveness because of unfavourable weather, time and careless use. In 1950, when the writer was posted at Jammu, he saw the remnants of the palanquins in which the ladies of the Sheikh family were carried with the Ranis to join social functions. Very near to the Haveli is a beautiful Mosque raised and maintained by the Sheikhs. The three surviving families are putting up in their houses built before the Partition. In Srinagar, there is a house of Sheikh Imam-ud-Din at Shahidganj which was sold probably by his sons. His Qila Mosque (wrongly called Kili Masjid) which he founded and built as a thanks-giving on the birth of his first son, Sheikh Abd-ur-Rahim in 1304 A. H., is being reconstructed today. As for the estates and assets of the dynasty these were many and valuable. It owned vast Jagirs in Jammu but most of these have been lost or abandoned. For the rest the surviving Sheikhs have wasted decades in pushing forth their claims and counter-claims. In the Valley, Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, had some of his land in Kanihama (Baramulla). The writer's grandfather, Sheikh Miran Bakhsh, had been granted 64 kanals of land in Gogaldara (Badgam) during the days of John Lawrence. The area was misappropriated by the Muqaddam of that village and the rightful owners could not get it back.

Towards A Bibliography on Kashmir

Kulbhushan Warikoo

Bibliographies prevent the sad occurrence of repetition in research and writing. They are the first thing to which a researcher must turn before he begins to delve out facts and form opinions on his subjects.

It is said that "knowledge is the true alchemy that turns everything it touches into gold. It gives us dominion over nature, unlocks the store-house of Creation and opens to us the treasure of the universe". Jammu and Kashmir State with a rich and variegated cultural heritage accompanied by a glorious and un-interrupted series of written records of history, has been the fountain-head of knowledge since time immemorial.

Kashmir has been the favourite haunt of lovers of beauty through ages. Kashmir's appeal is not limited to its scenic beauty alone, but it caters for all tastes. The stupendous snow-clad mountains, lovely glens rich with luxuriant growth of foliage, the flower-bedecked valleys have inspired many a poet and a philosopher, the naturalists and the artists, all alike. Many mysteries still remain hidden in its fold, which await study either by geologists or archaeologists. The historians and the litterateurs find themselves delighted by the availability of written records of history, manuscripts, paintings, magnificent monuments and similar other antiquities representing the glorious legacy of our past, the vision of our seers and the aspirations of our thinkers. The political philosophers and statesmen too had been engrossed deeply in opening the knots of Kashmir politics. In short, there is no subject on which this colourful State of Jammu and Kashmir, has not carved out its prominency and uniqueness. As such it is known throughout the world.

It is genuinely felt that vast areas culture and history of the people of Jammu and Kashmir are still undiscovered and deserve more attention of scholars and researchers than they have so far received. Also, there is a need to identify and harnes the vast potential mineral and industrial resources lying dormant in the State, so as to build up the self-reliant and self-sufficient socio-economic infrastructure.

There exist abundant-recorded material and documents, that have been written this multi-faceted "Kashmir". As a matter of fact, J & K State has figured prominently in both the Indian and foreign press, obviously because of its strategic situation. The "Area study" is a multi-pronged subject involving different ethnological and language groups, tourist spots, strategic pickets with many objects of importance for an antiquarian, a naturalist and a geologist as well. The whole State being represented by a common name "Kashmir", is composed of the three principal cultural units and geographical divisions, viz. Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. The Valley has produced a number of distinguished philosophers and litterateurs, who have enriched our thought with classic treaties on diverse subjects like religion, philosophy, history, grammar, music, astrology, poetry and so on. No wonder then Kashmir attracted such celebrated travellers as Hieun Tsang, Ou Kong, Jahangir, Akbar, Aurangzeb and many European travellers among whom Bernier took the lead followed by George Forster. And during the British suppremacy in India many expeditionists to the frontiers were sent on political missions. Thus all such travelogues and narratives are not only interesting but revealing too. And all these things are not known to everybody. Many records lie hidden at unsuspected places and many mysteries remain yet to be resolved.

Scholars conducting research on one or the other aspect of the region do not know exactly and fully about the background material they need. In the meanwhile many research projects are under way in both the Indian and foreign universities on this unique area thus adding to the existing stock of knowledge. In fact, research is a process involving extension of the existing boundaries of knowledge plus new discoveries and inventions. But in both these cases, the early accessibility to and background information of the recorded knowledge is a pre-requisite for any intended research work. Thus "Bibliography" is the starting-point for all work to be planned and executed. It has been well said that "the records of civilization would be an uncharted chaos of miscellaneous contributions to knowledge, unorganised and inapplicable to human needs, without a Bibliography. While tracing the history of bibliographical work with regard to Kashmir, I have found that Kalhana the celebrated author of Rajatarangini (1149-50 A. D.) qoutes no less than eleven royal or dynastic chronicles (now lost) besides the ancient Nilamata Purana. Kalhana also mentions other sources such as inscriptions, written texts or Sastras and recordings of grants of lands etc. explicitly. Later chroniclers of Kashmir history quote Kalhana extensively till we find Pir Ghulam Hassan Khuihamu (1833-1898 A. D.) mentioning in detail the source of his monumental history of Kashmir. Dr. G. M. D. Sufi has also given us an exhaustive list of works on Kashmir that he has consulted for his two-volume book "Kashmir". In fact most of the modern writers on Kashmir have recorded what they have consulted, but Dr. R. K. Parmu in his "History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir", has given us a good bibliography to be of value to research scholars.

Since there existed no compact Bibliography of what has been written on Kashmir, it struck me in 1971 to compile one. Researchers could go astray in the absence of such a necessary reference tool. So, this has been the first endeavour of its kind. The "CLASSIFIED & COMPREHENSIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY ON JAMMU, KASHMIR &

LADAKH", was aimed to enlist and retrieve all the published (printed) documents on all the subjects including both the natural and social sciences, with reference to the territories of Jammu & Kashmir State or any part thereof. The task was quite stupendous for a man to do it individually in absence of any institutional or financial support. I had to locate, identity, collect, arrange classify, index the entries and finally give them a book form. The job proved more embarrassing not only because the relevant documents were not available at one place, but also because the scope of the Bibliography was too vast with no barriers of time, subject language and macro or micro literature. And it required pre-study of varied aspects of the vast territory. However, I have deliberately kept the unpublished documents such as manuscripts archival records etc. out of the purview of the said Bibliography.

After a long and thorough hunt at various libraries both in and outside the State, I have been able to compile the Bibliography containing about 7600 entries. It indexes the documents such as books, travelogues, pamphlets, articles, editorials, letters to the Editor, analytical entries etc. that have come in print on any subject concerning such a vast territory or any part thereof, from early times till December 1974. The earliest reference recorded in this regard is that of "Forster's travels", that came in print in 1798 in London. And then, we find abundant literary and scientific output at the hands of renowned oriental and scientific European explorers during the nineteenth century. The documents published in English language have shared the major portion in the Bibliography. Important entries in the shape of published Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu or Hindi materials have also been included. However, I have resorted here to selection as to avoid unwanted duplication in their contents. Annotations have been given where necessary. All the entries listed have been classified in depth. Although no scheme or notation has been employed, yet the Colon Classification method has been the guiding spirit. A sort of spiral method has been employed while recoiling the different aspects of knowledge regading the subjects dealt with.

At the outset, there is a chapter discussing the "Sources of Information" wherefrom the material has been drawn. It includes Libraries consulted, Bibliographies, Catalogues, Index to Journals, Books on Kashmir and also lists of various journals that have been indexed. Few pages denote the "Abbreviations used for periodicals", that have been utilised or referred to in the Bibliography. Next comes the "Classified Schedule cum Index" which serves as a mirror of the whole Bibliography. There are in all 25 main subjects arranged in a classified order. These are Catalogues, General Works and Travelogues, Library Service, Journalism and Press, Engineering, Geology, Botany, Zoology, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Medicine and Public Health, Useful Arts, Mystics, Fine Arts, Literature, Languages, Religion, Education, Geography, History, Post independence Politics and Government, Kashmir Question, Economics, Sociology and law. These subjects are further sub-divided in a classified order and the arrangement of entries within each sub-heading is alphabetical.

The main part consists of about 7600 entries. There are 412 entries under the subject "General Works & Travelogues", listing all available work written by different categories of visitors to Kashmir from earliest times till present day and touching every sphere of life in Kashmir. Therefore the researcher is advised to go through this part as well, in addition to seeking information under his relevant topic. The number of entries under other subjects is as :- Engineering (105), Geology (285), Botany (100), Zoology (107), Agriculture (120), Arts and Crafts (128), Fine Arts (102), Literature (155), Languages (119), Religoin (221), Education (74), Geography (108), History (407), Post-independence Politics & Government (1084), Economics (656) and Sociology (333) "Kashmir Question" has taken major share with a total of 2859 entries.

It may be pointed out that a glance through the Classified Schedule cum Index would give a reader of any type both broad and depth idea of the structure of Area Study of Jammu & Kashmir State. The alphabetical subject and Author indexes appended at the end will guide the reader to his relevant entry on any subject or by any author respectively. Cross references have been provided in both these cases. Each entry has been made informative in details as far as possible. In case of a book information like author(s), title, sub-title, editor, translator, name of the place of publication, publisher, and the year of publication with pagination and volumes, if any, is given. In case of an article or an editoral information as to author(s), title of the Article etc. name, volume, number, year and date of the periodical or a newspaper along with pagination is given. An analytical entry consists of information like author(s), title, pages, and even that of the host document in which the entry appears.

Such an objective and a systematic presentation of references pertaining to various subjects and regions of our State will undoubtedly facilitate better understanding and appreciation of the history, culture, resources, literature, and characteristics of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and new vistas of research will be thrown open. The Chief Minister, Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah in his foreword to the book has described it as the indispensible tool for all those interested in the Area Study of Jammu and Kashmir.

I am sure that all types of academicians whether journalists or Librarians, archaeologists or geologists, botanists or zoologists, historians or litterateurs, artists or naturalists, politicians or economists, linguists or anthropologists will find this Bibliography their first ever indispensable guide to themselves and it will in addition to stimulating further research, help the researchers in locating and studying the entire spectrum of their relevant subject, besides portraying the contributions made to the study of "Kashmirology".

To be vain of one's rank or place, is to show that one is below it.

—***Stanisiaus***

The Development of Historiography in the Emerging Nations

Prem Nath Bazaz

In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldun expounded great principles for the historians. The present essay by Kashmir's distinguished writer is a marvellous exposition of the facts of history and an enlightening treatment of Historiography.

I shall start with an axiom which has assumed the form of almost a clich: You cannot know a people without knowing their past, for present is only a product of the past ; we cannot run away from our past even if we desire to do so nor can any society's future be properly built without having a complete knowledge of its history. For the character of a contemporary society is the outcome of the thinking and living, deeds and achievements or failures of its preceding generations. Just as the individual's character is formed by the way he has lived his or her past life, the experiences he has made from the day of birth and the individual cannot escape from these, try how he may, so every present-day society carries as path of its self the various cultural traits which it has inherited from the successive generations preceding it since the dawn of civilization.

Scores of countries, big and small, were liberated after the Second World War from the slavery of Western Imperialism. They are often referred to as developing countries, or as some would prefer to call them. the Third World, to distinguish them from the Capitalist World and the Communist World. In almost every case these countries did not possess any recorded chronicles or continuous histories of their own when they were captured or conquered by the powers which colonised them.

Partly to understand the subjugated people and partly also to stabilize their imperialist rule, histories started to be written of the conquered countries by the historians mostly born in the ruling class. Not all of these works were deliberately biassed, in accurate or malicious as is generally stated. Some of them, indeed, were written by conscientious authors intent upon recording facts discovered by them after painstaking research and vast investigations. But many of these histories were full of myths, assumptions and narration of events and incidents born of figment of imagination of the rulers with the purpose of proving that the colonies passed through anarchy, the colonized were incapable of ruling themslves, it was a blessing to them that they were conquered, and that it was for their own welfare that the imperial powers should remain in the saddle to save them from internal disorder and defend them against foreign invasion.

Apart from the method employed in writing them which was peculiar to each country, the histories by the colonialists generally tended to stress that the country was disunited and inhabited by warring tribes or irreconcilable religious communities, making them prey to outside powers; there was no national consciousness among the people and no patriotism ; that tribal chiefs continuously fought against each other; they were dissolute and licentious; disorder was common and lawlessess prevailed ; people were poverty striken and famished. It was presumed that the imperialists belonged to higher civilizations and appeared on the scene only to uplift the downtrodden by eradicating their superstitions, social evils and vicious customs, by improving their economy, by educating and training them in sciences and arts and by providing infrastructure to make them a nation fit for self-government.

Although there was a sub-stream of truth in what the colonial historians wrote, much of it was based on assumptions and hypotheses that were not verifiable by facts. Nevertheless, in the early periods of the imperialist rule the colonized accepted the statements and avidly read the histories as correct versions of their past.

But with the dissemination of education and awakening of national feelings and sentiments as well as a sense of self-respect and dignity among the subject races the colonial histories were not only challenged by unknown realities but also counter myths and assumptions were invented to disprove all and sundry charges brought against the colonised and their past. Indeed, educated enslaved produced treatise which lauded heroes and events of the past, often fantastic in nature, and in most cases exaggerated to show that their past was glorious, grand and golden and that it was the colonial rule which had ruined the subject races economically, degraded them intellectually, humiliated them politically and demoralised them spiritually.

Unmindful historical facts, these counterblasts from the boastful authors of conquered peoples were meant to undo the effects produced by the histories written by imperialists or their supporters. It was claimed that from time to time the conquered people had been united (for example under Mauryas, Guptas and Mughals in India), that the religious or tribal differences among the people were imaginary because there existed unity in diversity; that the alien rulers overrated the class and communal animosity to divide the people in order to continue their own rule and that the subject lands were inhabited by superior races in the past with a sublime culture of their own. Indian historians claimed that spiritually they were unsurpassed and indeed they had a unique divine message to give to the world which can bring peace to entire mankind. The Arab conquerors proclaimed that the Koran was the last word in human wisdom and Islam was destined to solve all problems encountered by ailing humanity including the enlightened Europeans. The West had, the Muslims averred, nothing to teach the Muslim nations and Imperialism had only one aim to exploit the conquerred people and rob them economically. In a conference of Negro writers and artists held in Paris in 1956, as a sample of such historiography, it was held that every progressive idea and element of civilization came from the blacks and backward nations of the world; it was emphasised in the conference that the philosophies of Nietzsche, Bergson and even Karl Marx were present in the Bentu philosophy and centuries earlier Negroes were far in advance of the western nations as they are today.

There was no dearth of histories produced by indigenous authors in the later periods of Imperialism in the countries of the Third World. But there was hardly a book of history which was free of the blemishes and the extravagant claims. Even the most outstanding of the historians indulged more or less in fantacies and exaggerated incidents, and creation of legendary figures and heroes out of historical persons of doubtful integrity and patriotism.

The main aim of native historiography as stated above was not only to effectively undo the "harm" done by the writings of the biassed imperialist historians but also to raise the fallen spirit of the people, to restore their dignity and self-confidence, to unite diverse tribes and communities, to make them feel proud of their heroes and achievements, to create feeling of hatred for imperialists and to have faith in their bright future ; in short, to reanimate the downcast people and prepare them to fight against foreign rule. The greater the historical insecurity in a dependent country and its enslaved people, the more fantastic and pretentious were the myths invented by the indigenous historians to rouse them. It was not a healthy way of making a nation and, as we shall presently see, it created avoidable and imponderable obstacles in the path of progress after the countries achieved freedom ; nevertheless, as a matter of fact, this was the common conception and method of writing history of their motherlands by the colonised so long as they remained in shackles under imperialist rule.

The First World War (1914-18) dealt the first blow at Western imperialism and with the deposition of the Czar of Russia and Kaiser of Germany as well as the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, some dependent states were either liberated or converted into protectorates for periods of time. It was, however, the Second World War (1939-45) which liquidated Western overlordship when colonialism came gradually to an end and one after another the enslaved countries achieved independence. Now that the great aim of writing mythical history by the historians of the erstwhile subject races had been more than fulfilled one would have assumed that with the restoration of dignity and selfrule the myths would lose their charm and magic and people would take greater pride in their present accomplishments rather than in those of an often imaginery and utopian post. There was reason to believe that self respecting, independent people would develop the ability to consider their own past dispassionately and objectively through stern critism of each myth event and personality which had been deliberately though undeservedly lauded and inflated in the dark days of enslavement. But unfortunately it has not come to pass. Myth creation has been easy but when the myths have outgrown their utility their destruction has become, in many cases, well-nigh impossible producing consequences very harmful to the growth of the nations.

The post-independence historians of the Third World may be roughly divided into three classes or ideologies. First come the *apologists* also called traditionalists or revivalists. They tenaciously hold to the myths, fables, assumptions, events, symbols, terms and reality of imaginary figures or inflated heroes who were invented during the days of freedom struggle. For everything said or claimed then has become gospel truth and cannot and shall not be closely or critically examined. Since myths do not stand scrutiny by application of reason revivalists are afraid that the edifice of folklore called history is bound to fall in any quest for historical truth. The revivalists find no silver lining in the entirely black rule of colonialists and see everything shining and resplendent in the past of their own country. The second category of historians may be called *reformers* or reconstructionalists. They would like to acknowledge some blessings of the colonial rule while denouncing its atrocities and exploitation. But they are unwilling to discontinue such myths and fables as have become part of our social, intellectual or spiritual life; they would revel in adoring the heroes who have been on high pedestal and have endeared themselves to the masses, however unreal they might prove when considered in the light of historic objectivity. They have scant regard for findings of archaeology, anthropology or research.

Among the third class of history writers are those who believe that time has come when the newly-freed nations would shed all prejudices against and antipathies towards their old masters, destroy one and all the myths which have come into vogue and give their entire allegiance to historic facts at any cost. They have been called *Futurists* or revolutionaries who consider it a false sense of dignity and wrong notion of national pride to conceal foibles, frivolities or weaknesses of the nation's past; they are not deterred or daunted by admitting that European Renaissance and Enlightenment are not the monopoly of the West but are an inheritance of the entire mankind. It is foolish, in their eyes, to disown the advantages of scientific education and technological progress that the erstwhile enslaved peoples derived under colonial rule. In their opinion this heritage cannot be repudiated even if the newly liberated people will and therefore the best course would be to find such positive strands in their pre-colonial social life which are in consonance with it and strengthen the inclinations of the people for the furtherance of modernity which we miscall Western civilization and culture. They anticipate nothing but disaster in persisting to adhere to the myths of history is the shape of past glory and spirituality and the denunciation of rationalist-materialist culture which has enriched minds and thinking of the developing nations. The Algerian historian, Mohammed Cherief Sahli called rewriting of history by the former enslaved people making factual objectivity as the sole criterion as "Copernican Revolution" in historiography. But recently historians have preferred to name it as decolonization of history.

An African historian N. Sithole who comes from this class of historians while denouncing the evils of colonialism does not hesitate to enumerate its blessings and says : "The twentieth-century African nationalism is indeed the child of European colonialism". And this may be said to be true of all nationalisms in the Third World. One of the great boons bestowed upon the peoples of the colonies by imperialism is the creation of historical sense in them. H. A. R. Gibbs, a perceptive historian, quoting Ibn Khaldun declares : "Only historical thinking teaches man the true measure of his stature and the humility that curbs theological and scientific arrogance".

One of the evil consequences of sublimation of myths and glorification of heroes with clay feet has caused new rifts among the erstwhile colonized and alienation of certain sections, classes and communities from the mainstream of social life. In any one of the countries of the Third World all people do not share the same faiths or the same values of life nor do they venerate the same heroes. The pan-Arab nationalism which stands on the unity of language and religion is unacceptable to non-Muslims in Arab countries who prefer to link their culture with ancient Sumerians, Phoenecians and Romans. Arabs and Israelis cherish separate myths to bolster up their respective nationalism. In Lebanon which is believed by Lebanese to be "Land of Light" Muslims and Christians are at logger-heads and at present involved in a destructive civil war. To Muslims the source of the light is pan-Arabism but the Christian derive the light from their Phoenecian and Roman past. In Egypt, traditionalists interpret nationalism in terms of Islam and Arabic while the Christian copts, supported by Futurist historians, look towards ancient Mediterranean culture and consider themselves to be inheritors of European Renaissance. The fact is that one section's myth is another section's poison in the newly liberated nations. For these reasons Saad Zaglul Pasha, the famous Egyptian patriot, was an advocate of decolonization of history and rejected religion to form basis of nationalism.

After the First World War the Ottoman Empire came to an end and Ataturk Kamal Pasha carved out Turkey as a sovereign nation. He was a futurist, a social revolutionary and wanted to have a break with the past to the extent of deposing the Khalifa, symbol of tradition and counter-revolution. He was staunchly opposed by priests and orthodox Muslims who charged him with attacking the very principles which perpetuate the existence of the Muslim world. They protested that the assimilation of European culture would mean destruction of Muslim history and Islamic civilization. But with determination Ataturk retorted : "The fez, symbol of the past which sat on our heads as a sign of ignorance, of fanaticism and of hatred of progress and civilization has to be outlawed and replaced by European hat which is the head dress of the whole civilized world". Ataturk wanted to transform Turkey into a nationalist and modern state founded on latest achievements of philosophy of science and of technology. For this purpose he discarded one sacred myth after another held inviolable by older generations of Muslim leaders and historians. Curiously enough, Kamal Pasha sanctioned the most extraordinary myth himself the Sun Language Theory—which helped him not only to settle the furious controversy over the language of Turkey, rejecting Arabic and adopting Turkish in its place, but also other problems which stood in the way of modernisation of the social life of his people.

I do not propose to take you over the varied developments of historiography in the newly liberated countries of Middle East, Africa or even South East Asia. The small time at my disposal forbids my doing so. But I would like to say a few words about the different stages of Indian Historiography before I switch over to the discussion of myths and misunderstandings about the past and present of Kashmir.

Sithole's observation about African nationalism being the child of European colonialism is equally applicable to India. Before the British conquest of the Indian subcontinent we possessed neither a sense of national dignity nor any appreciation of recording contemporary events in a detached and unbiassed manner. Hindus did not distinguish themselves in early or medieval times for writing history. Perhaps because they believed this world to be unreal and transitory they did not consider it worthwhile to maintain a reliable record of their achievements and failures or events and occurrences or social developments from one age to another. As a rule, Hindus lacked the sense of history. The famous historian, Kalhana of Kashmir, is an exception that proves the rule. However, with the conquest of parts of north India by the Muslims in the twelfth century the task of writing chronicles was taken up by foreign travellers or court officials. These were disjointed pieces and until the British started capturing chunks of the subcontinent by the end of the eighteenth century not a single continuous history of the vast land existed. The difficult work of producing a comprehensible, regular and methodical study of historical facts from earliest times to the present day was undertaken by a number of gifted literary stalwarts in the employ of imperialist masters.

Indian historiography then passed through various stages. Although some of the imperialist historians took pains and did their best to remain unblessed in collecting raw materials and in arriving at certain conclusions they could not, generally speaking, resist the temptation of delineating the theme that, in the word of Rudyard Kipling, the trusteeship of the conquered land was "Whiteman's burden" from which the colonialists had to honourably acquit themselves. A number of myths mingled with facts were invented to bring home the degraded character of the subject people-their many social evils, communal disunity, colossal ignorance, inefficiency, deep-rooted caste prejudices, backwardness, superstitious nature and, above all, their unfitness to rule over their own motherland. The Indians were also reminded of the endemic anarchy which prevailed in the country for long periods.

At this stage the Indians were passive and accepted their inferiority. They also accepted the colonizer's disparaging view of India's past and aspired to reach the standards set by the foreign rulers. Even in the thirties of the nineteenth century leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dwaraka Nath Tagore, Prasana Kumar Tagore and other luminaries of Hindu society acknowledged the blessings of the British Rule, when they stated in a memorial to the Supreme Court in 1838 that the Indians "offered up regular prayers to the objects of their worship for the success of British arms from deep conviction that under the sway of that nation their improvement, both moral and social, would be promoted "and that they considered" the cause of the British as their own. Prasana Kumar Tagore went even to the extent of declaring that he would prefer English Government to any other, even to Hindu Government. Ram Mohan Roy has put on record his view that "the enlightened people of India looked upon the English as deliverers rather than as conquerors and that the citizens of Calcutta offered prayers for the victory of the British during the Third Maratha and Nepal Wars".

The second stage in the development of Indian historiography began when the Western education spread by opening of colleges and universities in the second half of the last century which made Indians resentful of their inferior political and economic status. The awakened elite then rejected the British imperialist myths and terms, assumptions and arguments without consideration of their significance or nature and countered them with many facts and also with imaginary and unhistorical events and occurrences. Now the Indian intelligentsia looked backwards and sought to resume contact with their precolonial historical communion and tended to lay stress on the uniqueness and superiority of their Brahmin cultural heritage. The most remarkable of these myths is that India is essentially spiritualistic while the West is materialistic; and being spiritualistic it is superior in culture and has a sublime message to give to the western nations supposed to be sick through glut of material abundance, standing on the brink of destruction. Indians disdainfully rejected any possibility of assimilation and, rather arrogantly, spurned the idea of having to learn anything from the West.

After the achievement of Independence in 1947 our historiology entered into the third stage when the Indians could not help realizing that materially, if not spiritually, their culture is inferior and they sought to modernize life by adopting western technology and willy nilly accepting some of its values. Intelligent Indians started probing and delving deep into their past to seek antecedants for the modern values in some of the ancient philosophies like Kapila's Sankhya, Kanada's Vaisheshaka (atomic theory) Charvaka's atheism and Buddha's agnosticism. The futurist or progressive Indian argues that in modernizing his social life he is being true to the values and even the institutions which have already been envisioned by ancient Indian savants, sages and thinkers. But with the contemporary melieu dominated by Brahmin philosophy, often doubts assail his mind. His confidence in the archaic Vedic heritage is shaken by non-conformism. He feels he is losing his intellectual-rootings and is being slowly sucked up into the cultural orbit of the West. Hence he either becomes an apologist and revivalist or at best takes refuge under the theory of reconstructional ists who preach refrom of history but desist from revolutionizing it. In the last analysis, Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India* did not go beyond the second stage of historiology in its contents.

But Indian historiography could not remain unaffected by world processes in thinking with the turn of the century. No doubt a number of histories have appeared till the last day of British rule which mostly

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Sardar Rangil Singh addressing the audience on the release of the Biannual on July 12, 1976.

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Dr. S. M. Iqbal, reading his address of welcome on the occasion of the release of J&K Research Biannual (12th July, 1976) at Tagore Hall, Srinagar.

Dr. S. M. Iqbal (Convener) speaking at the concluding session of XXIII Conference of Librarians at Amar Singh Degree College, Srinagar (11-10-1976).

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The reputed writer-journalist, Pt. Premnath Bazaz addressing those present at the Inaugural of J&K Research Biannual.

popularized innumerable myths and fables to falsify British tales of western superiority in morals, politics and economics; they emphasised that the British were neither heaven born nor ordained to rule over backward India for ever. The view was contemptuously rejected that the fallen people have the need to be lifted up by the exploiter class of foreign rulers.

In the post-Independence period Indian historiography should have entered the fourth stage called Copernican Revolution or what some of the eminent historians have named decolonization of History. Free Indians should have realized that the imperialist rule was not after all only a period of stagnation and suppression. It was also an epoch which laid the foundations of educational and democratic institutions, economic developments in the shape of irrigation and communication networks besides maintaining order and establishing rule of law and uniting for the first time diverse parts of the entire subcontinent into one. The Indians ought to realize that modernization is not the property of the West alone, that, in fact, it is a worldwide trend characterised by universality and that it is changing the East no less than it does the West. The free Indian should be able to critically and realistically appreciate his own culture, should preserve that part of it which is compatible with modernity and of value of his people as well as to humankind. He should accept the positive elements of both the ancient Vedic and medieval Muslim cultures and at the same time be open to share the universalistic ideal of the European Renaissance and the eighteenth century Enlightenment. While maintaining his individuality he must behave like a citizen of the world.

Unfortunately Indian historiography has not developed wholly along these lines during the past three decades. It has become difficult for us to kill the myths, demolish the gods or legendary figures and deflate the inflated historical personages deliberately put up to counter imperialist propaganda over a century ago. The myths have become our frankstiens strating in our face, ready to devour us. We have failed to recast our history by critically examining the assumptions, reports of events and occurrences which we accepted blindly in the past. We cannot brook any examination of scriptures like Ramayana and Mahabharta or other exagetic literature which is highly essential for arriving at historic objectivity. We still believe in Ganpathi Puja and Sivaji Festival as national observances which has caused communal disharmony We admire Akbar for his non-communalism yet extol Rana Pratap, his opponent, as a great Indian hero without in the least realizing the contradiction involved in it. We have assumed that Muslims were henchmen of British Imperialism though substantial evidence is available today that this oft-repeated and easily accepted statement is baseless. I shall have to devote another full extension lecture to establish this point.

To my knowledge not a single history of India has been produced in the spirit of "Copernican Revolution". Indian History has not so far been decolonized. The farthest that the Indians have gone in this direction is to adopt reconstructionalist or as it has also been called the reformist method. The ten-volume *History and Culture of the Indian People* written by a number of distinguished historians under the chief editorship of Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, abundantly proves this. While trying mostly to rationalise the many myths and irrational assumptions of Hindu culture this history does not deny the good that the Islamic culture has done to India. And it pays glowing tributes to the British rule from which I venture to take a small excerpt :

> "History does not record a similar instance of a body of foreigners, devoting so much energy and making such continuous and steady efforts to improve the machinery of government in the dependent or subject country...The executive and the judicial branches of administration attained a degree of efficiency which India is not known to have reached at any previous period...The efficiency and freedom from corruption which they displayed as a class were hardly known before and will probably remain the ideal and dispair of many generations of Indians......
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> "It would have appeared incredible to Ashoka, Samundragupta, Akbar and Aurangzeb, not to speak of others, that their verbal order or wish was not sufficient to kill or imprison a person...Not the least in importance is the establishment of a uniform system of administration with English as court language all over the great subcontinent. This together with the development of transport and communication by means of improving old roads and building new ones opening up of railways and telegraphs, and introducing cheap postage, transformed the face of the country and ushered in the conception of one India".

It has to be acknowledged that R. C. Mazumdar shattered many a myth of the apologist historians by introducing refreshing whiffs of fresh air in his writings. He gave a new orientation to Indian Historiography. While referring to the common belief that Gupta Period was the golden age of India he pointed out that "there can be hardly any doubt that Samundragupta's region makred a distinct revival of the old glory and influence of the Brahmanical religion which had suffered decline since Ashoka made Buddhism the dominant religion of India". This is corroborated by two other contemporary historians, D.D. Kosambi and Romila Thaper; the former takes Gupta emperor to task for using an Ashokan pillar to announce in grandiloquent language his own conquests and the latter contrast Ashoka as glorying in *dhamma vijaya* (victory of morality) with Samundragupta who feels elated in *yuddha vijaya* (victory of war).

Again, Mazumdar rejected the myth that Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 was the first war of India's independence as was dinned into the ears of the people by apologist historians and nationalist leaders. By quoting chapter and verse from the record of the Mutiny, he concludes: "On the whole it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the so-called First National War of Independence of 1857 is neither first, nor National nor a War of Independence". Significantly, however, the revivalist historians and the nationalist politicians persist in calling the mutiny by that pet name.

Mazumdar also questioned the assumption that Shivaji and Rana Pratap were national heroes when Muslims had no love lost for them. On the contrary, the Muslims held in high esteem Mahmud Gazni and Aurangzeb, the very mention of whom creates a sense of hatred in the minds of Hindus. How can Indians form one nation when they cannot even have the common national heroes, Mazumdar asks ? A nation can be evolved by creating identical or similar ideals for all sections, classes and communities and by inspiring equal pride in them for real and imaginary past deeds, achievements and heroes of the country.

Mazumdar, Kosambi, Romila Thaper and some other have no doubt changed the style and complexion of Indian Historiography but the fact remains that the maturity which makes History a balanced, authenticated and objective survey of the past has yet to be attained by Indian chroniclers and historians.

Nietzsche in his *Uses and Muses of History* said that history can be ispirer of rashness and fanaticism. Very few historical tones are free from the defect of achieving that impious purpose and Indian chronicles are no exception. Myths continue to be taught in schools and spread through text-books which assume racial superiority and create barriers between religious communities and classes. It is true, historical objectivity is not a sense to be easily cultivatable because every people view history from the perspective of their own self-image. But the real test of a people's maturity is, firstly, the amount of tolerance that they can bring to bear on controversial topics in which their past is relentlessly criticised and secondly while maintaining their specificity or individuality in national life, they are able to come closer to universality by combating localism, linguism, communalism and parochialism.

In 1973, when I travelled in the United States I studied some recently written histories of America. One book entiled *Buru Me at the Wounded Knee* facinated me as very remarkable. It is a factual report of the continuous warfare in the last century between the Red Indians and the White immigrants from Europe called Americans. It narrates the minutes details of the atrocities massacres, savagery and broken promises of the White rulers. Every decent and cultured American must feel ashamed and bow his head in disgrace by a study of this volume. Yet not only has not the book been banned it has undergone no less than forty-three editions. The book, I was told, is avidly studied by the Americans and less so by the few Red Indians left in the States. It is the measure of maturity in the thinking of a progressive nation and security it feels in expression of free thought. India has yet to develop such maturity. In other words Indian historiography has yet to pass through a "Copernican Revolution".

If we just go through the text-books taught in the schools especially in lower classes we can well realize why the outlook of Indians does not change. The text-books are full of irrational ideas, parables, and Brahmin beliefs which are rightly or wrongly supposed to be part of Indian culture and civilization.

When in 1966, attention of the Union Government was drawn to this vital matter a committee with K. G. Saiyidan, J. P. Naik and Gopi Nath Aman, among others, as its members, was formed to report on the quality of education imparted in the schools and if, and where, it needed change. After going through the available data the committee found that (a) the books were overweighed with Hindu mythology, (b) most of the prose as well as poetry selections in text-books are prayers to Hindu dieties, (c) Hindu mythological beliefs are presented in a manner as if they are universally held by all Indians, (d) historical personalities belonging to other religious groups are neglected and (e) historical events are presented in such a manner as to arouse and perpetuate prejudices against certain religious groups. The committee's findings and recommendations were considered at the highest level in the Union Government but finally left unimplemented.

Coming nearer home, I may say at the outself that though the pattern of historiography is the same, Kashmir has certain peculiar features which need to be noted. In the first place, unlike the rest of the Indians, Kashmiris possessed from earliest times a sense of recording their chronicles in contrast to writing sacred tales interwoven with historical events. It is recognized on all hands and by all competent authorities that Kalhana who flourished in the twelfth century and wrote the *Rajatarangini* in 1140 A. D. was the first genuine historian of India whose compilation in Sanskrit verse can pass by any standard of historiography. Not that it is free from narration of unbelievable fables, myths and fantastic occurrences. But, as Kalhana says in the introduction to the *Rajatarangini* that historian alone can be reliable and deserve respect who, like a judge, stands above personal predilections and states facts in a detached manner. Kalhana has not failed to rise to the standard set by himself.

Many other historians had preceded Kalhana. He has acknowledged his indebtedness to at least eleven of them from whose works in addition to other sources, he took material for preparing the *Rajatarangini*.

Kalhana was followed by other historians. In the time of Zain-ul-Abidin Badshah (1422-72 A. D.), Jonaraja and Srivara brought down the narrative to their own days in their works known respectively as *Rajavali and Zain Rajatarangini*. The task was taken up again by Prajnabhat who wrote *Rajavalintka* in 1512 A. D. and by Shuka who produced his work in 1506 A. D. With the last named ended the writing of Kashmir history in Saniskrit verse. Among the chroniclers who wrote in Persian the distinguished ones are Haider Malik (1659 A. D.), Narain Kaul (1710 A.D.), Mohammad Azam (1747 A. D.) and Birbal Kachru (1850 A. D.). The Kashmir history has been completed and brought uptodate by authors notable among them being Pirzada Hassan who flourished by the end of the last century, Prakash Ram, Hargopal Kaul, Mohammed Din Fouq, Ghulam Mohiuddin Sufi and P. N. Kaul Bamzi.

Thus it will be seen that the Kashmiris have surpassed many Indians in maintaining unbroken record of their past events, achievements, failures, myths and prejudices. Some outsiders also have no doubt published books on one or other aspect of Kashmir's past but their sources have mostly been the Kashmir chroniclers. While it would, therefore, be an unmaintainable charge to state that the Kashmiris like almost all other newly-liberated peoples of the Third World learned to write history under European colonial rule, it would be safe to say that Kashmir historiography suffers from the same defects referred to above while dealing with the chronicles of other nations which emerged after the Second World War.

Before, however, I try to throw light on these flaws, I would like to clear two misunderstandings which have bedevilled the thinking of the Kashmiris during the past five centuries beginning with the capture of the throne by a Muslim. It is generally believed that Islam was spread in Kashmir by force and thousands, if not lakhs, of Hindus were either massacred or compelled to embrace Islam. I will not deal here with the subject how Islam spread in other parts of the world or in India, but I can emphatically state that it is a travesty of history to say that Kashmiri Hindus embraced Islam under coercion. As a matter of fact, there were thousands of Muslims in the valley living as civilians or employed in the State army under the Hindu monarchs. King Harsha (1089-1101 A. D.) employed capable Muslims as centurions in his armed forces. The first Muslim ruler, Shah Mir, did not invade the valley from outside with an army but was employed in his palace by King Suhadeva (1300-19 A. D.) and granted a fief. He faithfully and loyally served the State for nearly two decades endearing himself to the people by his deeds of bravery in wars against two foreign desperadoes, Dulcha in 1319 A. D. and Urdil in 1338 A. D. It is true he captured the throne through a strategem against Kota Rani, the last Hindu Queen, but it was a part of the political game of those times and most of Shah Mir's co-cosnpirators were Hindus. "He assauged the troubles of Kashmir and changed its conditions", records Jonaraja.

There is every reason to believe that the lower castes of Hindus who formed the large majority of the population and suffered from inequitous social laws found deliverance from bondage in acceptance of Islam which practised brotherhood of the believers. And this reality of life attracted the victimised castes among the Hindus to swarm into the Muslim fold. With one voice have the contemporary Brahmin historians acclaimed the Muslim rule as a blessing. I need not dwell on the liberality and generality of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin Badshah who is known to have been very kind and generous to Hindus. But out of many noble deeds of other Muslim monarchs I may mention only one to prove my point. In the time of Shahbuddin (1354-1373) the treasury became short of coins and the king was in a fix how to solve the problem. His Hindu Minister, Udayastri, suggested to him that the gigantic brass statue of Brihad Buddha may be melted to meet the requirements of the treasury. The king not only rejected the proposal as contemptuous but also sacked the minister for making it.

To be sure, Sultan Sikander (1389-1413) was a bigot and not only demolished many temples but also harassed, persecuted and oppressed the Hindus. Jonaraja says that "there was no village, town or city where temples of gods remained undamaged". But it is well known that Mir

Syed Ali Hamadani, venerated as Shah Hamdan in Kashmir, and his son Mir Syed Mohammed warned Sikandar that he was acting against the Koranic principles and should desist from doing so. Besides, it should not be forgotten that some Hindu monarchs too have perpetrated such atrocities. About Harshdeva's excesses Kalhana writes : "There was not one temple in a village, town or in the city which was not despoiled of its images by that Turushaka King Harsha. He appointed Udayaraja prefect for seizing divine images. In order to defile the statues of gods he had exorement and urine poured over their faces by naked mendicants whose noses, feet and hands had rotted away. Divine images were dragged by ropes round their ankles on the streets". Take another case of King Raja Deva (1213-1236 A. D.). He took fancy to harass and plunder the Brahmins and brought them to such a pass that every member of the Brahmin community was heard to cry when threatened with an attack. "I am not a bhatta, I am not a bhatta". Bhatta in Kashmiri means a Brahmin.

But we do not judge the Hindu rule by such instances of a few wicked rulers nor should we pass our verdict on the Muslim rule by the single instance of Sikander whom Muslim historians have given the sobriquet of *Butshikan*. Islam spread, by and large, in Kashmir by persuasion and peaceful means.

Another such false belief harboured by some Muslims is that before they came to Kashmir the people were uncultured, ignorant and barbarous. While it is true that Hindu polity had stagnated and demoralization on an unprecedented scale had set in after the death of King Avanti Varman in 883 A. D. when bestiality and savagery ruled for three centuries affording Islam to enter the Valley and spread rapidly over mountains and dales, there is incontrovertible evidence that Kashmiris in ancient and early medieval times had achieved the pinnacle of glory in different walks of life.

In historical times, Kashmir has not only been a great seat of learning but its gifted sons have carried the torch of culture far and wide in the known world. In popularising the revolutionary ideas of Gautama Buddha in India and beyond its borders, Kashmiri scholars have played by no means a negligible role with the torch of enlightenment they travelled in distant places in the east, the west and the north. Everywhere they served as harbingers of a new age of emancipation.

Kumarajiva spread the message of Mahayana Buddhism in China for which the Chinese Emperor conferred the title of Tungsheo (though young in years but ripe in wisdom) on him. An artist, Gunavardana, followed him to paint jatka stories in public halls in China. Gunavardana also sent to Sumatra where he converted the royal family to Buddhism which prompted the entire population of the Island also to adopt the new faith. Another missionary, Virochana, converted the people of Khotan and parts of Gandhara(now N.W.F.P. and East Afghanistan) to Buddhism. May I add the name of Nagarjuna, founder of Mahayana school of Buddhism, who though born in Andra Pradesh spent major part of his life in Sadarhavana (modern Harvan).

When neo-Brahminism raised its head in the 4th century, the talented Kashmiris instead of surrendering to reaction evolved a new philosophy-Shaivism-which is the product of the fusion of Vedic and Buddhist philosophies. Its first great teacher was Vasugupta born in nineth century A. D. who wrote *Shiv Sutra Vimarshini;* He was followed by Kalatabhata, author of *Spanda Vritti.* Then came stalwarts in succession like Somananda, originator of Pritibhijnya school, Utpaladeva who wrote Strotravali and the last but the greatest of them all, Abhinavagupta, who composed, among others, the dazzling treatise *Parmarthasara.* It was in this cultural background that there was influx of seven hundred odd Syeds accompanying Mir Syed Ali Hamdani. Consequently an intellectual tussle ensued between learned Shaivites and orthodox Muslim preachers. With their penchant for eclecticism the Kashmiri intelligentsia succeeded in inventing a new philosophy which contained acceptable elements of Islam with positive achievements of the *Trika* (the Triad) as Shaivism was locally known. In its developed form the latest faith was the religious humanism of Lala Ded and Nund Reshi (Noor-ud-Din). In Kashmir, thus Muslims were forced to make a compromise with old Kashmiri culture in order to earn acceptance of the people. Not the orthodox Syeds but the school of *Reshis (or Babas)* who were staunch followers of the Religious Humanism, were successful in spreading Islam. Thus those Muslims who believe that Kashmir lacked learning or culture in Pre-Islamic times betray only their lack of knowledge.

We can now have a look at the trend of writing history of Kashmir during the past century. British colonialism functioned in the State indirectly. This was unfortunate because we had to suffer the evils of both. As in the case of other communities of the Third World the Kashmiris, bleeding from the wounds inflicted by despotism of the Pathans and the Sikhs, meekly submitted to the Dogra rule and more so to the British suzerainty, as a heavenly blessing. We lavished paeans of praise over them. Pir Hassan's was the first complete history of Kashmir, though it had the merit of being unbiassed and non-communal, it accepted the inferiority of the Kashmir people and the sense of justice of both the imperialists and the Dogra rulers. The other chronicles that followed it till the twenties were in the same strain.

With the elemental upsurge and political revolt which broke out in 1931 the outlook of the Kashmiris and the art of historiography underwent a change. Now myths were told, assumptions made and events and occurrences mentioned to present the Dogra rule along with British Imperialism in blackest colours. This was done to unify all sections of the Kashmiris and enthuse them to participate in the struggle for freedom.

The high objective of liberation from British Imperialism and absolute monarchy having been achieved in 1947, we are caught in the web of certain fables which we should have no more liked to entertain. But it needs clear thinking to get rid of them.

It is not possible in the short time available to me to deal even summarily with the various myths that have crowded upon our minds during the past 45 years and now obstruct our path to complete freedom.

Strangely enough most of them are paradoxical. I shall, however, indicate them leaving it to some future time when we can meet again and comprehensively discuss them.

Many among us believe-and Hindus have no doubt about it...that the movement which started in 1931 was out and out religious and communal in character with the aim of destroying the Hindu rule. I have shown in my books on Kashmir politics, particularly in *Inside Kashmir* and *the History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, this to be a misreading of the events preceding and succeeding 1931 upheaval. Despite some unhappy communal riots in which the Hindus suffered, the movement was essentially political and economic started by oppressed people valiantly fighting with back to the wall against the oppressors. It is notable that a class of Muslims, too, fail to realize this and continue to lay stress on the communal aspect of the movement.

There is another false belief which has to be discounted. It is not borne out by historical facts that Kashmri Hindus were opposed to the struggle against Maharaja's autocracy. For many years in pre-1931 era Hindus launched campaigns to have free press, to form associations and to establish a representative assembly. For being vociferous in making such demands the Hindu journalists incurred the wrath of the Maharaja.

Even after the 1931 upsurge which was marred by communal riots, liberal Hindus devotedly supported the movement as is evidenced by the fact that the signatories to the historic document of the National Demand of 1938 are Hindus along with the Muslims.

Some of the luminaries of the State politics profess to be opposed to the two-nation theory and claim that our movement has always been secular in character, yet almost none of them understands the implications of secularism. In practice some politicians implement the two-nation theory in different spheres of social and political life all the time swearing allegiance to the ideal of secularism. In Secularism the goal is attainment of human justice and the highest court of appeal is reason and not any divine command. The term has become controversial. I realize that this topic demands elaboration which I am unable to make for lack of sufficient time. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from remarking that much confusion of thought prevails in Kashmir and only decolonization of history can set it right.

I need not perhaps repeat how much beholden we are to British Imperialists for having awakened us by introducing democratic institutions, principles of Enlightenment and Renaissance as well as the scientific culture of the West.

Similarly, whatever their faults we have to be grateful to the Dogra rulers for having established an ordered government and Schools, Colleges and cultural institutions like Archaeology, Museums and Research upon which, let it be said, to our dismay we have not been able to improve during 30 years of independence.

Lastly, I would draw your attention to that important piece of Legislation entitled "the Definition of State Subject in Jammu and Kashmir" which was passed in 1927 by Maharaja Hari Singh four years before the freedom movement was launched. The demand for autonomy and the retention of Section 370 in the Indian Constitution virtually draw their moral strength from the Definition. This legislation is considered so valuable by all shades of political opinion in the State.

I have taken pains to go through different phases of the development of historiography with the one desire of impressing upon you, my fellow students, that the time has come when we should critically survey our past and rewrite our history eliminating all myths and events that cannot stand before reason, however sacred, time-honoured and popular they may have become in course of time. We must rise above prejudices, be they communal, national or cultural; our allegiance must be to only one creed—factual objectivity. True, it is not easy to ascertain facts especially the farther events and personalities are removed from our time and myths woven round them. But if we are sincerely devoted to the cause of research we can reach closer and closer to truth. It is a great ideal and the student of history who is true to his salt need not be deterred or discouraged by opposition of uninformed and biassed populace when he finds a bitter truth and loudly proclaims it to the world.

Sickness comes on horseback but goes away on foot.

—W.C. Hazlitt.

A sound discretion is indicated not so much by ever making a mistake as by never repeating it.

......—Bovee

Whoever perseveres will be crowned.

...HERDER

What they Saw and Wrote

Moorcroft and Cunningham on Ladakh

(Dr. Sheikh Mohd. Iqbal)

But a closer view would show many fertile tracts along the rivers, covered with luxuriant crops, and many picturesque monasteries, from which the chant of human voices ascends on high in daily prayer and praise.

(A. Cunningham)

In this series of articles, the purpose is to reproduce the observations of the Europeans on the past life of the peoples of the State. In this issue it has been deemed useful to present to the readers a few extracts from the travel accounts of William Moorcroft and Alexander Cunningham.

Moorcroft, who belonged to Lancashire, England, was a veterinary surgeon and came to India as the Superintendent of the Company's Stud in Bengal. He had an ambition of seeing Central Asia personally. His fiirst attempt was that which he made by way of Chinese Tartary. He was the first European to have crossed the Himalaya. In spite of "all obstacles, and of sickness, induced by exposure and fatigue, he accomplished the purpose......" Unable to go to Turkistan himself, he sent Mir Izzatullah, a native friend, to Bokhara in 1812. The Mir kept a journal and his observations "though brief and unpretending, are intelligent, and in the dearth of more ample and elaborate material are of infinite value".

When in October 1819, Moorcroft proceeded to Central Asia via Ladakh it was his second journey of which the basic object was "to improve essentially and permanently the cavalry horse of India...... by an infusion of the bone and blood of the Turkman steed." He also saw the possibility of establishing a commercial intercourse with Trans-Himalayan regions. He obtained from the British Indian Government a 'Reluctant acquiescence' in his journey to Bokhara and was apparently permitted to carry some articles of merchandise likely to be in demand in Turkistan.

Among others, Moorcroft had in his company some of the trusted men such as George Trebeck, Mir Izzatullah and Ghulam Hyder Khan of Bareli. Trebeck proved a most invaluable companion. While describing his burial place Lt. Burnes remarks : "this youngman has left a most favourable impression of his good qualities throughout the country which he passed". Izzatullah had already gained sufficient experience in hard travel. Ghulam Hyder also maintained a journal of his own which has since been published like that of the Mir.

As against Moorcroft, Alexander Cunningham enjoyed all the facilities and amenities. He went to Ladakh as a member of the commission which was meant to fix the boundaries between that region and Tibet. He had a letter of the Governor-General with him to the address of the Lhasan Governor. He had at his disposal all the tools to be required in an ardous journey. On the other hand, the Government of India, while permitting Moorcroft to undertake the hazardous mission, "refused to grant any accredited authority or political designation."

It is important to note that the accounts of both William Moorcroft and Alexander Cunningham are too interesting. While Moorcroft's study is general in nature that of Cunningham is deep. But some of their views are no doubt questionable. Both Moorcroft and Cunningham hold similar opinions about Kashmiris who came in their way. But while Cunningham is anti-Muslim, Moorcroft could not be so. His hatred of the Muslims cannot be generalised for two of his most trusted associates were Muslims.

More credit should got to Moorcroft for the simple reason that he was a pioneer in the great effort towards knowing the unknown. When Cunningham left for Ladakh in 1846. Moorcroft's Travels in Hindustan had already been published (1837). Hence, Cunningham's programme was greatly facilitated by the experiences and notes of Moorcroft. These proved more effective in help than the facilities provided by the authorities to Cunningham.

What Moorcroft and Cunningham saw in Ladakh and what they felt about the life of Botis combine to make an absorbing story of an ancient community. They have left no aspect of life of the people they visited. In this respect, however, the observations of Cunningham are more exhaustive than those of Moorcroft. Writing on the pattern of houses Moorcroft thus refers to the only impressive building in Leh. "The most considerable building in Leh is the palace of the Raja, which has a front of two hundred and fifty feet, and is of several storeys in height, forming a conspicuous object on the approach to the city. (p. 318)

Cunningham's first impression of the land of Ladakh is so beautiful that it strikes one's wonder. He says :

> No trace of man nor of human habitations would meet the eye : and even the large spots of cultivated land would be but small specks on the mighty waste of a deserted world. But a closer view would show many fertile tracts along the rivers, covered with luxuriant crops. and many picturesque monasteries, from which the chant of human voices ascends on high in daily prayer and praise......(P. 16)

About the structure of the monasteries and houses, Cunningham states :

> The finest buildings in Ladakh are the Monasteries, which are always placed on heights more or less lofty, and which generally have very picturesque and imposing appearance. Many of them would be places of some strength if they possessed water ; but I am not aware of a single monastery that has even one day's supply. The outer walls of the Monastery are formed by the dwellings of the monks, and the interior, if large, is divided by other buildings into several open courts. One room, more spacious and much more lofty than the rest, is set apart as a temple for the performance of daily service. The outer walls are generally whitewashed ; and the battlements are ornamented with broad bands of red, and surmounted with numerous small flags that flutter in the breeze and give a lively appearance to the whole place. Outworks are sometimes added for the purpose of defence. These are generally plain curtain-walls connected by square towers crowned by Machcoulis. (P. 312-13)

He continues:

> The royal palace at Le is a large fine-looking building that towers in lofty pre-eminence over the whole city. It is 250 feet in length and seven storeys in height. The outer walls have a considerable slope, as their thickness diminishes rapidly with their increase of height. The upper storeys are furnished with long open balconies to the south. and the walls are pierced with a considerable number of windows. The beams of the roof are supported on carved wooden pillars, and covered with planks painted in various patterns on the outside. The building is substantial and plain; but its size and height give it a very imposing appearance. (P. 314-15)

Regarding the inhabitants of Le Moorcroft records:

> The population of Le, as of the country at large is of the Tibetan stock, but a very considerable number of Kashmirians are domesticated at Le, and a mixed race has originated from them and the women of the country, termed Argands. (p. 319)

Pointing to the merits and the vices of the Ladakhi people Moorcroft says:

> The Ladakhis are, in general, a mild and timid people, frank, honest, and moral when not corrupted by communication with the dissolute Kashmiris, but they are indolent, exceedingly dirty, and too apt to be addicted to intoxication......(p. 321)

Of the Ladakhi women and their qualities he makes the following note:

> The women of Ladakh in consequence of their great proportionate number, find it difficult to obtain subsistence, and besides domestic occupations and woolpicking, in which they are very ex-

> pert, they are the principal labourers in the field. They are a very lively good-humoured race, and scolding and railing are almost unknown amongst them (p. 322).

Quite ably has Moorcroft described the dress of the females and males. Writing on their decorations he says:

> The most costly ornament is the collar, a stiff band of silver or gold, more or less wrought, bound with strings of coral, pearls or silver beads, and studded with turquoises in flowers, encasing the neck: below this a necklace of several tier of large gold and silver beads, intermixed with turquoises, descends low on the bosom. Some notion may be formed of the composition of this collar from the price, which is about forty pounds. (p. 327).

Later he adds :

> A Ladakhi female is full costume would cause no small sensation amongst the fashionable dames of a European capital. (P. 328)

Cunningham's description of the life of the Lamas and the laity is quite succinct. His praise of the feminine beauty is somewhat affected when he speaks of the dirt and disease of the people. He writes :

> In general the Botis have short, squat, stout figures, with broad, flat ugly faces ; but occasionally amongst the better classes I have seen both men and women who were well made and well featured, and with a fine rosy colour in their cheeks. Indeed, I have seen a few of the women that were really handsome, with good regular features and fine figures. But in general they are all both men and women, not only ugly but hideous, and more especially the old women. Dr. Gerard's amusing description of these people is too graphic to be omitted. "In figure they are stout, waddling, and dumpy ; ... in face they are not beautiful, even when young when past their climacteric, very unseemly ; and when old, a picture of horrid ugliness." (P. 295-96)

Cunningham does not forget to make a mention of the accursed *chang* and its human preys :

> All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better than their own indigenous *chang*. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of a bad beer, and thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage ; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour." (P. 306)

Of the loss of life due to disease and war Cunningham says regretfully

> Amongst a filthy people, who never wash, and who only change their garments when the cloth has rotted piecemeal off their person, the mortal effect of such a contagious disease as small-pox cannot be wondered at (p. 287-88)

Moorcroft's account reveals that the contemporary Ladakh did not have a strong ruler and an enlightened administration. The position of the Gyalpo (Raja) was too weak. He says :

> The Government of Ladakh is a simple despotism, but it is curiously modified by the circumstances of the people and the influence of the hierarchy, so that unless a person of more than common talent and energy, the Raja is an individual of little real power, and may be deposed or elevated at pleasure ; his successor in the former case being a member of the reigning family (p. 332)

A ruler could be misled when the Lama pretended receiving divine inspiration. Once it happened that the Raja was so much frightened as to abdicate in favour of his son. It was his Muslim Queen that he decided to retain his right to rule. Yet, even a weak ruler could enjoy the absolute privilege of obliging the poor people to surrender the best of their provisions for the maintenance of the royal household. Moorcroft states :

> Thus the inhabitants of the country about Le supply the Raja with fuel, milk, butter, tea, grass for his cattle, servants for his person, and labourers in his fields. These contributions press very heavily upon the industry of the people, particularly where their rulers are avaricious and repacious, a character unluckily too common (p. 320-21).

Ladakh lacked political solidarity because of its lack of a well-organised and well-equipped army. Levies were raised only when an emergency arose. Moorcroft says :

> The military force of the country consists merely of the peasantry, who are called upon to serve occasionally in disputes with the neighbouring states. These are generally adjusted without any very sanguinary appeal to arms, as may be supposed from the cowardice of the soldiery,and the inefficiency of their equipment (p. 335-36).

The description of a Ladakhi military camp given by Cunningham is more realistic and accurate. The army he found to be the very antithesis of a disciplined soldiery. He writes :

> The camp (Maggar), which was pitched without any regularity, consisted almost entirely of black tents made of yak's hair. The Kahlons and some others had white blankets, but these were so few in number as not to affect the general sombre appearance of the camp. When, however, the cooking commenced, and volumes of smoke began to issue from the open roofs of the tents, now ascending in fantastic curls, and now whirling rapidly round and spreading a milky canopy over the black tents, the Boti camp wore a very picturesque appearance. During the day little was heard but the busy hum of men preparing their food or cleaning their arms, but towards evening the whole air frequently rang with noisy brawls and angry squabbles, which gave but too convincing a proof of the powerful influence of their favourite *chang.*

It was owing to military resourcelessness that the Gyalpo of Leh had to beseech help from the Mughal Governor of Kashmir against the Tartars. Subsequently, he had to pay tribute to Emperor Aurangzeb through the Governor of Kashmir. The military weakness and the passive religious creed of the Ladakhis were also among the causes that enabled Zorawar Singh to conquer Ladakh.

The Europeans were much interested in knowing the Buddhist religion as they and the Americans are now. Defining the creed of Botis, Moorcroft says :

> With regard to their religious belief and practice it seems to be a strange mixture of metaphysics, mysticism, morality, fortune-telling, juggling and idolatry. The doctrine of the metempsychosis is curiously blended with tents and precepts very similar to those of Christianity, and with the worship of grotesque divinities. The Lamas recognise a sort of trinity, or a triad consisting of a paramount deity, a prophet, and a book, and the people are exhorted to truth, chastity, resignation, and mutual forbearance, and good will (p. 340)

About the monasteries and the system of worship of the lamas he writes :

> One of the principal temples at Le is dedicated to the god Chamba, in the figures of which, although the person is male, the countenance is female, and the whole appears to be an androgynous type of the powers of nature. (P. 343)

He continues :

> The religious service of the Lama, which is performed daily at the Gompas, or temples attached to monasteries, consists chiefly of prayers and chanting, in which the formula,"Om manipadme Hum", is frequently repeated, and the whole is accompanied with the music of wind instruments, chiefly harmonizing with tabrets and drums (p. 344).

Of the popularity of Muslim faith he recorded :

> In the western provinces, and those bordering on Balti and Kashmir, the Mohammedan religion is spreading rapidly, and effecting a material change in the habits and character of the people. One good effect is its promotion of temperance by the prohibition of chang and fermented drinks. (P. 346)

Cunningham is not only concerned with the theory and practice of the Buddhism in Ladakh. He seems to be interested in tracing its origin as well. He remarks with emphasis :

> But Buddhism was the prevailing religion of Ladak from the conversion of the people by Asoka's missionaries down to A. D. 400, when Fa Hian visited India. At that time he found Buddhism flourishing in the little state of Kia-chhe, or Ladak, as well as in Kotan and the other small states of the northward of the Tsang Ling, or Karakoram. The king of Kia-Chhe *(Khachan or Snow-land)* still celebrated the great quinquennial assembly of the Sramanas which had been established by Asoka. The ceremony which lasted for one month, was conducted with becoming gravity, and closed by the distribution of presents amongst the Sramanas. As Fa Hian noticed nothing unusual in these proceedings, we may conclude that the Buddhism of Ladak was the same as that of India. (p. 359).

Archaeological Treasures of Ladakh— A Survey Report

With regard to their (Ladakhi Buddhists') religious belief and practice it seems to be a strange mixture of metaphysics, mysticism. morality, fortune-telling, juggling and idolatry......The Lamas recognise a sort of trinity, or a traid consisting of a paramount deity, a prophet, and a book, and the people are exhorted to truth, chastity, resignation and mutual forbearance and good will.

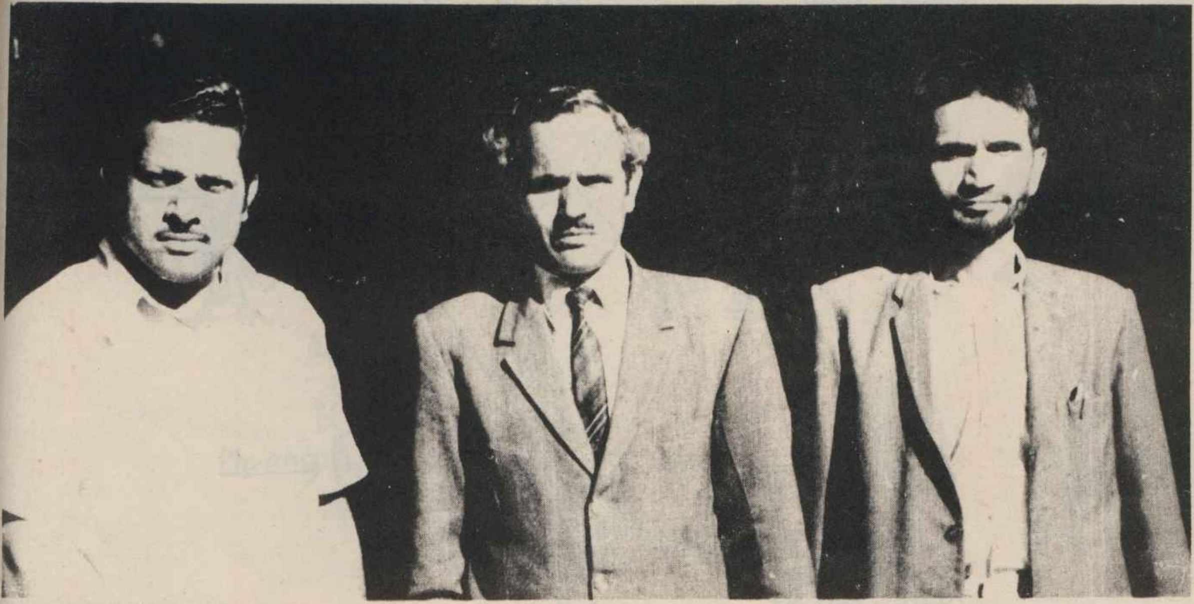
(W. Moorcroft)

This Survey Report is based on the Tour conducted by Dr. S.M. Iqbal Director, Libraries, Research. Museums and Archaeology, and his team in the months of June 1976 in Ladakh to examine the antiquities housed in various Gumpas of Ladakh. The Survey was confined to 12 sites and monasteries as per description given hereunder :

Throughout its history Ladakh has experienced an art life of its own mainly due to the natural position of the region which is situated at a height of 11,000 feet above the sea-level and surrounded by barren and lofty mountains. Ladakh had once closer contacts with Central Asia. The influence of Central Asia penetrated into the cultural habitat of the whole area. In ancient times, Ladakh could not save itself from the continued eastern conquests, followed long afterwards, by a period in which its own political hegemony extended far beyond its geographical limits. The Buddhism was introduced in Ladakh during 236 B. C. by Ashoka who deputed his missionery named Madyantika and other disciples to this region for propagation of the Buddist religion which is a dominating factor in the life of the simpler unsophisticated Ladakhis. Ladakh like Tibet is known as the land of Lamas. Besides, Shakaya Thuba or the Buddha, the people in Ladakh worship Jamya (Manjushri), Chanrazik (Avalokitesvara), Maitreya (the future Buddha). Grolma (Tara), Padmapani and Vajrapani. Almost all villages in Ladakh, irrespective of the size and population, have an old monastery where images of different deities or Buddha are worshiped daily by reciting hymns and mantras and by turning the prayer cylinders locally called "Mani".

The Gumpas or the monasteries are the most conspicious buildings in Ladakh, the word Gumpa signifies a solitary place and the Monasteries have been built at places far from the disturbing influences of the city or village. This is the reason why 90% of the monasteries are built on high cliffs where they still look both picturesque and impressive.

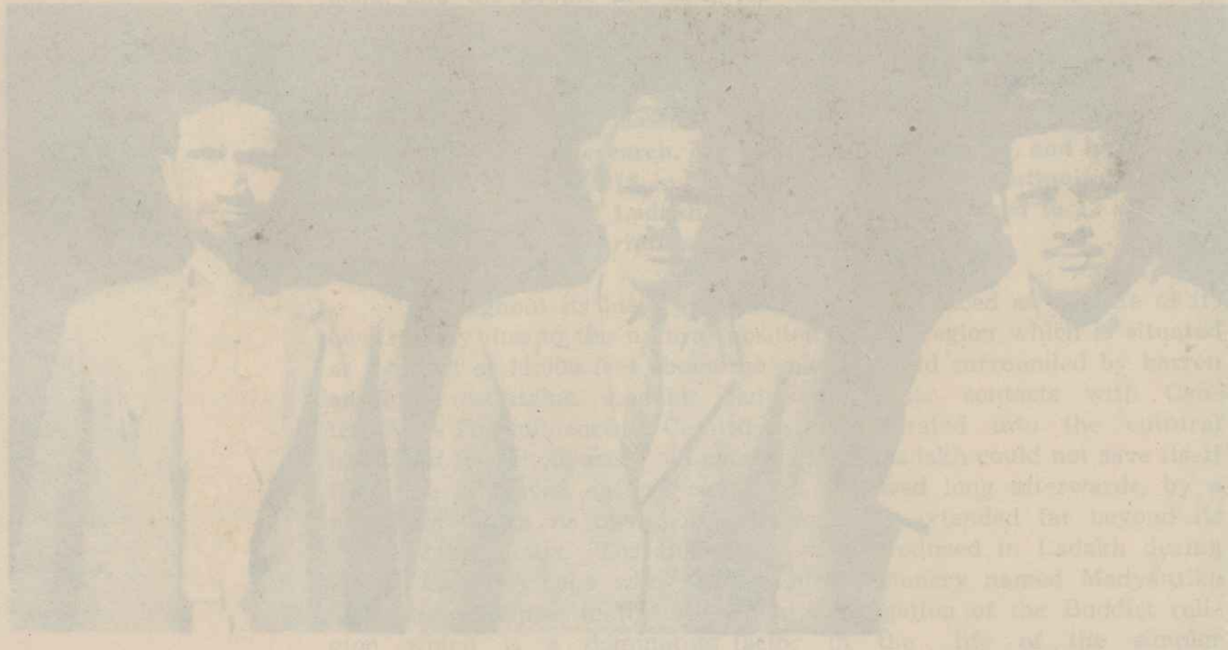
The rulers of Ladakh constantly travelled in Tibet, Khotan,

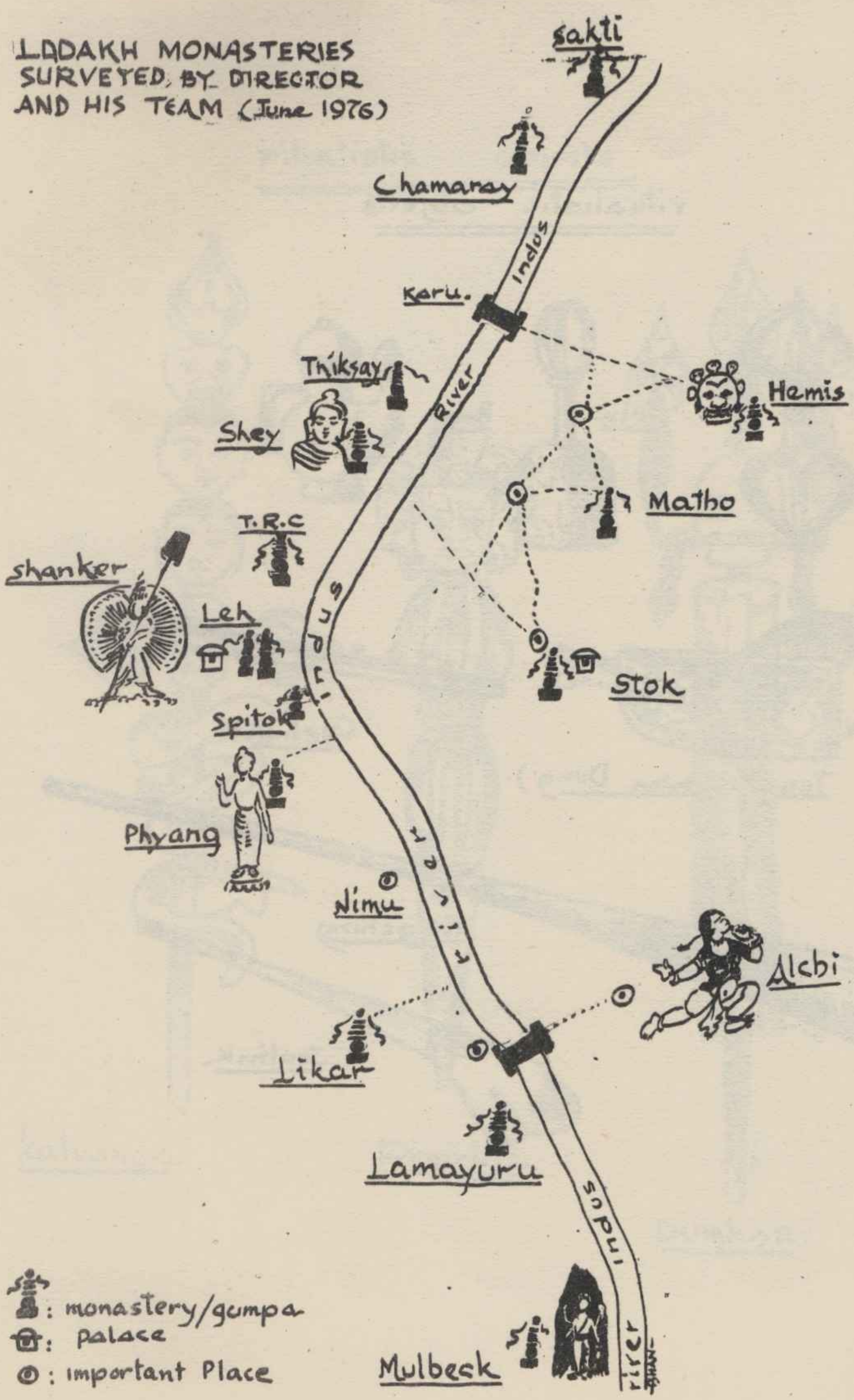


LADAKH SURVEY TEAM - JUNE 1976

At the right of Dr. S. M. Iqbal is Mr. J. L. Bhan, Registering Officer Antiquities. Chiefly interested in Archaeology and Ancient Art, Mr. Bhan did useful work while on tour with the Director besides preparing the first draft of the Report. On the left is seen Mr. M. A. Rafiqi, the Camera-man and Micro-film expert of the Research Section. He did intensive photography at the monasteries in Ladakh with encouraging results.

Archaeological Treasures of Ladakh— A Survey Report

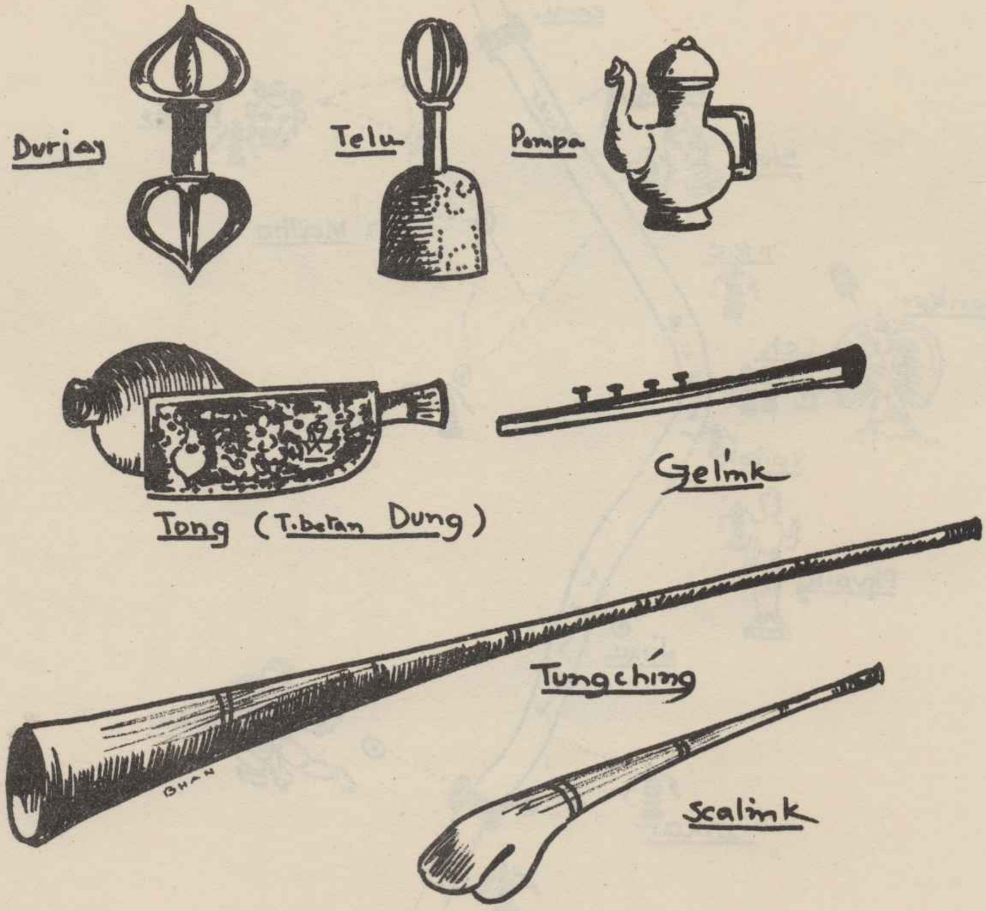




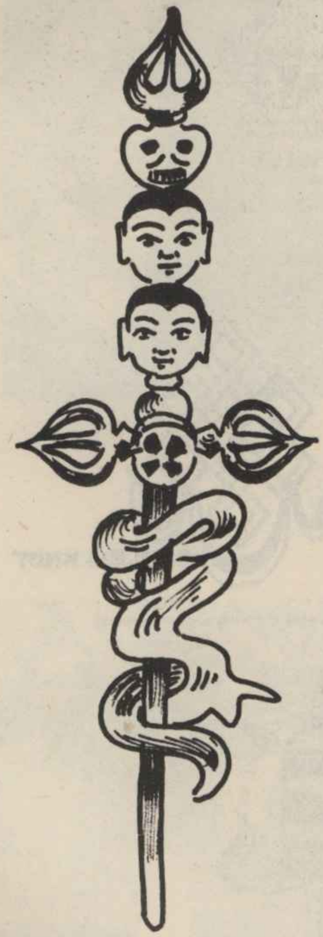
LADAKH MONASTERIES
SURVEYED BY DIRECTOR
AND HIS TEAM (June 1976)

Sakti
Chamaray
Indus
Karu.
Thiksay
River
Hemis
Shey
Matho
T.R.C
shanker
Leh
Indus
Stok
Spitok
Phyang
River
Nimu
Alchi
Likar
Lamayuru
Indus
Mulbeck
River
: monastery/gumpa
: palace
: important Place

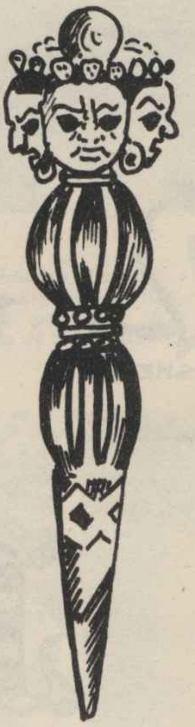
ritualistic objects


Durjay
Telu
Pompa
Tong (Tibetan Dung)
Gelink
Tungching
BHAN
Scalink

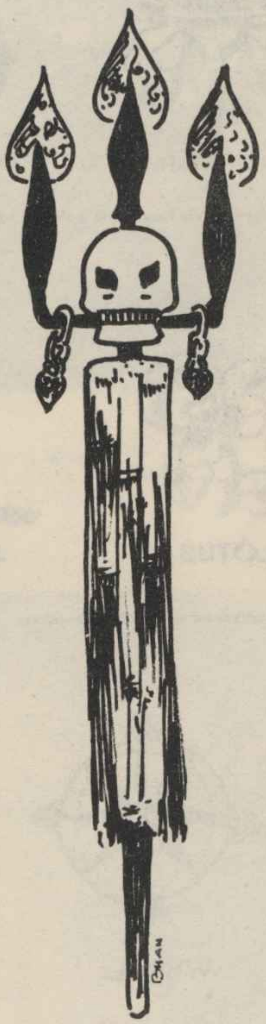
ritualistic objects



katvanga

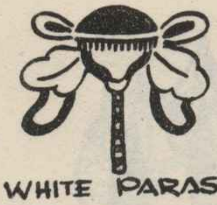


Phurba



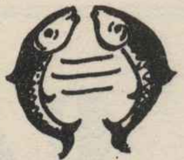
DUMKẠR.

Buddhists'
Eight Auspicious Emblems



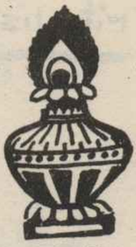
WHITE PARASOL

(Keeps away the head of evil desire)



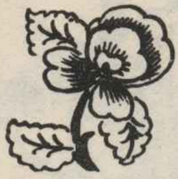
TWO FISHES

(Happiness and utility)



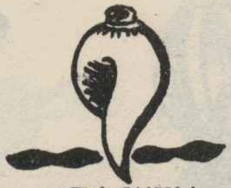
VASE

(Treasures of all desires)



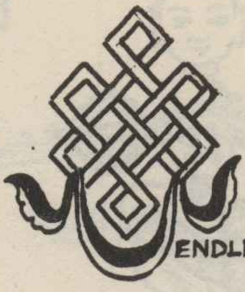
LOTUS

(Pledge of salvation & symbol of divine origin)



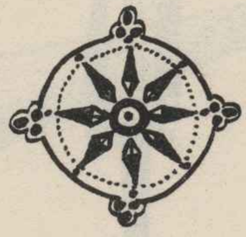
SEASHELL

(Symbol of blessedness)



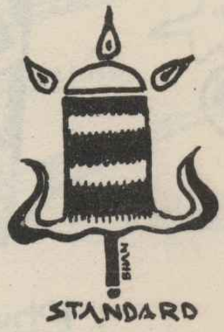
ENDLESS KNOT

(Symbol of endless cycle of rebirths)



WHEEL

(Leads to perfection)



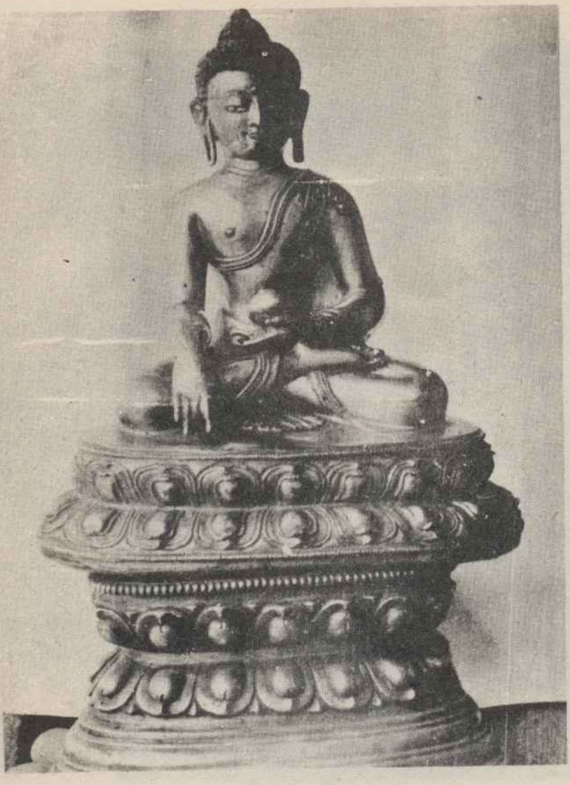
STANDARD

(Victorious banner erected on the summit of Mt. Meru Centre of Buddhist Universe)

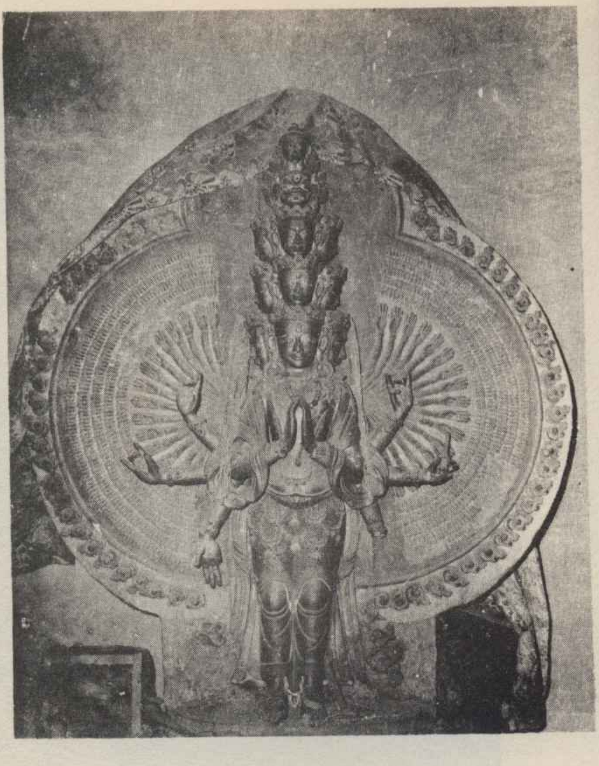
Repainting of a wall of Lamayuru Monastery (Ladakh). Ey-Shetangyang Murla, a traditional painter is engaged in repainting the walls of the monastery.

Dr. Oskar von Hinuber of Mainz University, (West Germany) with Dr. Iqbal after he completed his research on Samgathasutra in the Directorate (October, 1976).

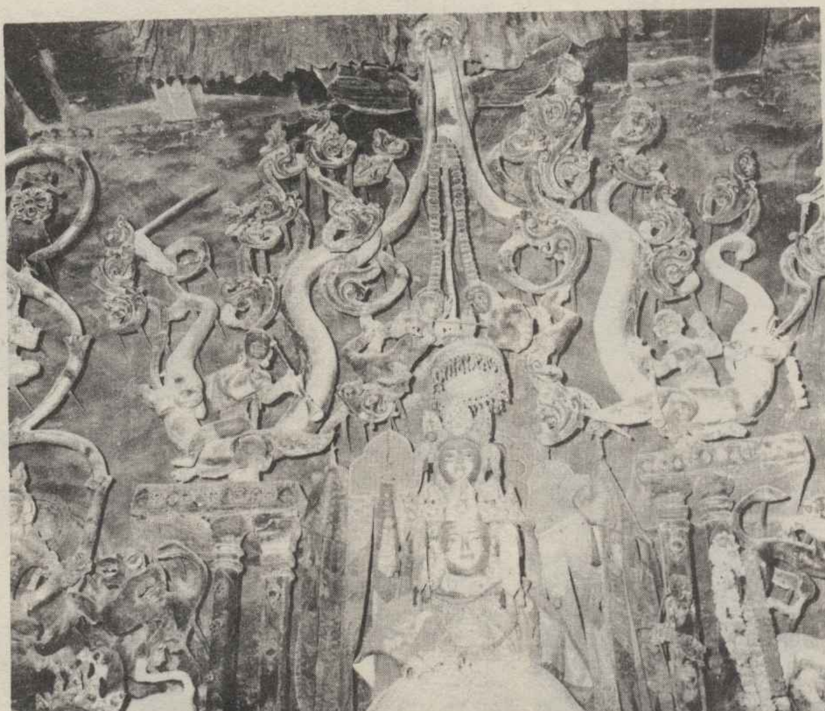
Maitreya Image being examined by the Departmental team at Drass (Ladakh)—10th century A. D.



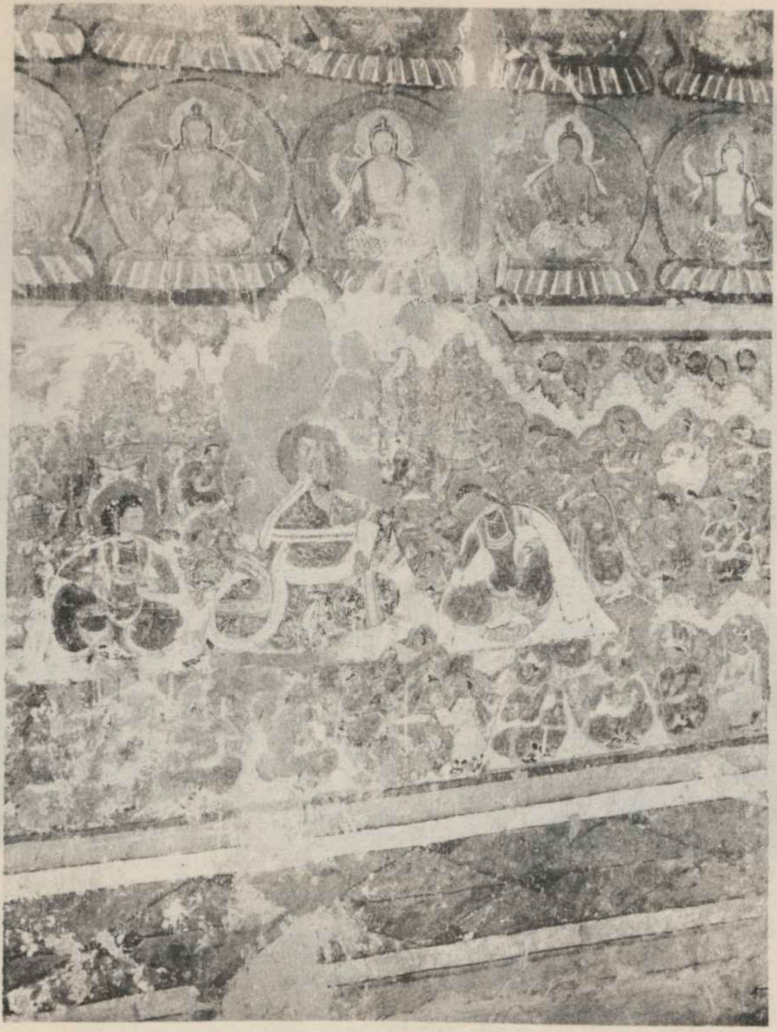
Seated Buddha in Bhumiseparsha (Gold Gilded) Mudra. Sankar Gompa, Leh—16th Century A. D.



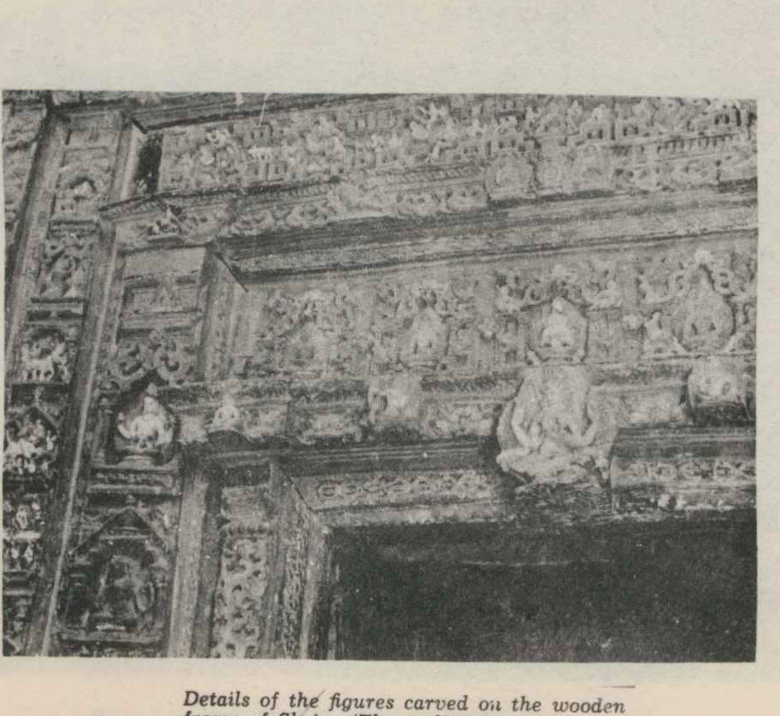
Eleven—headed and thousand—handed Avalokiteswara (Stucco) Mulbeck (Ladakh).



Altar Clay--11th Century A.D. Alchi, Ladakh.

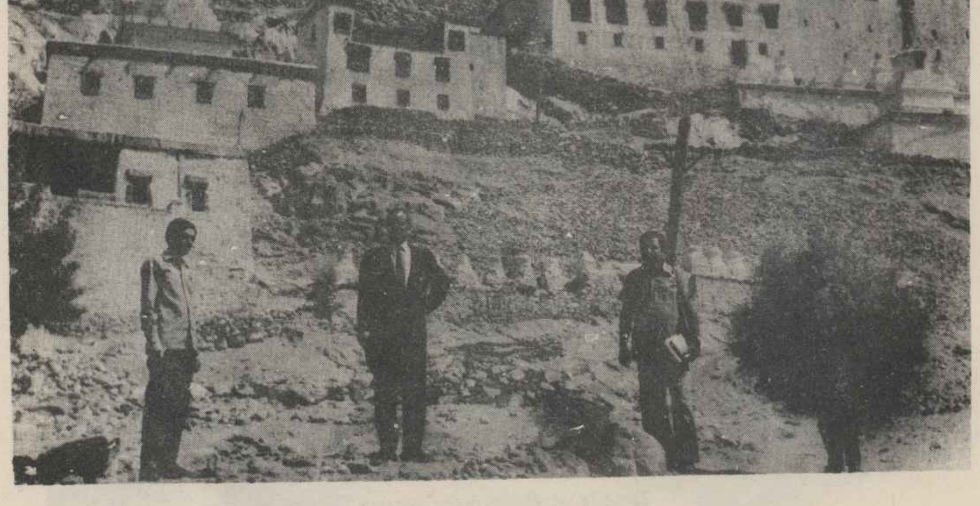


Royal Camp (Mural Painting) Alchi—11th Century A.D.



Details of the figures carved on the wooden frame of Shrine (The earliest wooden sculptures in J & K State) Alchi—11th Century A.D.

Dr. Iqbal at Hemis monastery, (ending June 1976) with three adventurous tourists from three European countries.



General view of Shey Monastery, Ladakh.

Kashmir, Nalanda etc. for acquisition of the Buddhist texts, craftsmen for construction of monasteries and images. In this connection the following rulers came to Kashmir several times during early 8th century for learning, procuring Buddhist texts and craftsmen :

1. Trhisongdetsen 804 A. D.
2. Padmasambhav
3. Lotsava Rinchan 11th Century etc. ,

They have left permanent record in terms of the statues, monasteries and manuscripts which are still preserved in the monastries and shrines of Ladakh.

1. *Dras* : It is a small valley comprising alluvial plateaus of different levels. It is the second coldest place in the world and is bounded by the terraced irregular spurs jetting up in rocky peaks. Excepting four carved stones there is nothing of antiquarian importance. The four statues are fixed on the roadside in a line and contains images of six armed Maitreya holding his usual pot in his left hand. The image wears a necklace, a wreath, wristless, armlets and tiara-peaked crown studded with full bloomed lotuses on either side. The image stands on a Padmasana and contains inscription on the left side of the extreme top. The image measures 5′.9″ x 3′.1″. The image can be dated to 10th-11th Century A. D. and resembles the statues of Kashmir of that period.

2. There is a stone block carved on all four sides with the images of Maitreya holding a pot and stands on a double lotus. On the extreme right side is standing a royal couple, the male is provided with a beard. On the left side of the image is another male figure with moustaches. The image measures 8′.6″ x 1′.9″ carved in a relievo. The other two sides contain a figure of a female diety wearing a tiara-peaked crown and in front of the image is carved a figure representing probably a donor. The figure measures 3′.3″ in height. On the other side of the block, it contains a standing figure on a lotus. The identification of the image is difficult because of the condition of the sculpture which is defeated. The fourth side contains a very beautiful stups 6′ in height. It is composed of 13 tiers flanked by two lion-capitals and is very akin to the stupas available in Kashmir from Harwan and other sites.

3. There are two small stones measuring 3′ x 1′.7″ x 5′.4″ containing eight petalled lotuses decorated with four skulls on four edges of the block. The another block measures 1′.6″x2′.3″x5′ and bears a figure of a male riding on horse. There is an inscription on the right side of the figure. Both these small blocks are dedicatory and are datable to 15th-16th Century A. D.

II. *Mulbeck* : Mulbeck falls on the roadside a few kliometres from Kargil. After crossing Suru the road goes along a flat sandy plateau and then descends into a narrow valley. Following the course of the stream it passes through Mulbeck, the first village having a monastery. There is a large statue of Maitreya carved from a big monolithic rock about 100′ high from the ground. The Maitreya is four-armed holding an Akshamala, a flower, a pot while the right lower hand is held in a Varadha attire. The image is provided with beaded armlets, wristlets, the circular Kundals and a double beaded necklace. The lower portion is covered by means of a Sari (dhoti) the folds of which are falling in-perpendicular. The dhoti is held by a beaded belt. Across the shoulders runs the Yagnopavit. The image is provided with crown inset with a small stupa. The image is standing on a lotus the petals of which are spread in three rows. The total height of the image is 40ft. Near the feet of the image are small figures approximately 2′ high all in a worshipping attitude. On the either side of the image are some five to six pigeon holes which might have been used by the sculptor for scaffolding purposes. The image is datable 9th-10th Century A. D. and not Ist Century B. C. as labelled which runs as under :

"This statute of Maitreya was carved probably in Ist Century B. C. during Kushan period. According to the Buddhist belief the 5th Buddha will be the Maitreya in the series of one thousand Buddhas who are to visit the world. Certain inscriptions perhaps in Kharoshti script on the back of the rock are reported to have been burried. This is a land-mark in the history of Ladakh and we must strive hard to preserve it."

The notice deserves to be replaced. The whole rock was examined and no traces of the Kharoshti script were seen. On the two sides of the rock are two small single-storeyed flat-roofed rooms used for worshipping etc. One room contains a beautiful figure of eleven-headed Avalokiteshvara. The image is a thousand-handed, each hand bears figure of an eye. The Avalokiteshvara is shown standing on a stylised lotus and image is studded with green stones. The height of the image is 5′.6″ and the image made of clay and dates back much later than the Maitreya image discussed above.

II. *Lamayuru* : Immediately after crossing the highest point of Fa-tu-la 13,479 feet above the sea-level one descends into the valley of Indus along a widening road. After turning a bend a strange looking village with a group of monasteries on top is seen against the backdrop of beautiful barren mountains. The Lamayuru Monasteries are the oldest monasteries in Ladakh. The open chamber contains some old paintings depicting Buddha and Gurus. Among the Gurus following deserve mention :

1. Guru Nangtin the higest Guru

2. Namshash

3. Teil

4. Naro
5. Zingzang Inchuk
6. Apche
7. Chuskum
8. Makila Ganbo

Among the Lamas the following deserve attention :

1. Chilas Ganbo
2. Lamasco
3. Kundal Nola

The main monastery is under re-construction but maintains the older structure which is about one thousand years old. The monastery is headed by the head Lama Tokdanrinpochhe. From the main monastery one gets a complete view of the Valley and a row of small Stupas running in scores. Most of these contain Dharampalas. Dharampalas are worshipped either singly or of in groups of eight. The Dharampalas are worshipped either singly or in groups of eight. The religion. In the lonely monastery of Lamayuru the Mahakala-Bhattrarka is shown defending the Stupa.

IV. *Shankar Gumpa-Leh* : About 3 kilometres from Leh is situated a monastery which is headed by Kaushik Bakula. The monastery is famous by the name of Shankar Gumpa. The monastery contains very rare collection of Tankhas besides innumerable statues of Buddha, Bodhisattvas etc. In the main chamber there is approximately 10′ high image of one thousand headed, one thousand handed, one thousand legged image of Avalokiteshvara locally called Dokar. The image is made of clay and is painted with variegated colours. In its two front hands the right one holds a Vajra while the left holds a staff surmounted with a circular umbrella-type cloth called Thuks. Among the brass images there is a beautiful gold-gilded image of Buddha seated on a Padmasana in earth-touching Mudra. The nimbus which decorates this image is actually of an earlier period (11th-12th Century A. D.) depicting the Buddha in the coils of the lotus stalk. Each Buddha, is seated on a Padmasana either in Dyana Mudra or Bhumisparsha Mudra. Just above the niche is depicted Garuda whose claws are holding the two Nagas. The height of the nimbus is 42 x 40 Cms. and the image is 28 Cms. high.

Among the Tankhas we come across with the scenes of Gilwachukhapa with Buddha, Gilwachukhapa with Avalokiteshvara etc.

V. *Shey Gumpa* : About 16 K. ms. from Leh on way to Hemis is the summer palace of old ruler (Gyalpo) of Leh. The palace is situated on the top of the hill and contains the stupa with a golden top. The monastery contains the biggest statute of the Buddha in Brass. The image measures 23 ft. high. The image is housed in two storeys. The monastery contains the following images :

1. Clay image of Lhala seated on horse measuring 65 x 70 Cms.
2. Seated Dolma on Padmasana
3. The Buddha seated in earth touching Mudra-face painted.

The images of the following Gurus are also on display :

1. Chukhapa (Torkhoo)
2. Stakchan ht. 3 ft.
3. Padmasambhav ht. 3 ft.

The main monastery contains a colossal statute of a seated Buddha in brass which is housed in Shethuba Monastery. There is another monastery Tristhank which also contains ritualistic objects. Both these monasteries are looked after by twelve to thirteen Lamas and festival is held twice a year in the month of April and August. Both these monasteries are headed by the Head Lama Dhokparingopochi.

VI. *Thiksy:* This monastery is situated on a hill top and has a beautiful location surrounded by the green Indus Valley. The monastery contains many religious images of Gurus namely (1) Sheripu (2) Mangalkipoh (3) Pampa (4) Tsongpha. Besides the main image Dhurjayjigzed, we also find Chamba image standing and flanking the main Buddha image. The monastery houses very old images of Yamantaka Rigsanganbow and the interior walls are painted with the paintings of (1) Kalarupa (2) Bignadanta (3) Yamantaka (4) Buddha (5) Thunkur (6) Dosak. The monastery contains besides other things a beautiful terracotta image of small Buddhas embeded in wooden blocks which measure 14x17 Cms. The Avalokiteshwara standing five headed, eight-armed deserves special mention. The interior of the main monastery which is dark, contains the biggest images of Mahakala single headed. Yamantaka nine headed with 37 hands and 16 feet shown standing on human bodies and the Kalarupa. The Thiksy monastery contains wall paintings dating back to 15th and 16th Centuries A. D. In this connection mention may be made of a wall painting of goddess of abundance which is seated on her Vahana with right hand raised up. The features are reminiscent of Central Asian art. A symbolic representation of Yamantaka done beween 15th and 16th centuries A.D., decorates one of the walls of the main monastery. The picture here depicts a sketch done on the wall of Thiksy monastery showing a scene from the Wheel of Existence. The sketch is drawn on a buff-coloured base with red-coloured lines. It is also datable to 15th-16th Century. A. D.

VII. *Hemis:* Hemis monastery is situated at a distance of 40 k. ms. from Leh along the Leh-Manali Road. Hemis is the biggest monastery which contains a number of gold statutes of Buddha and Stupas embedded with precious stones. The monastery has two main chambers of worship. On both, ante-chamber walls are beautiful paintings of Bhava-chakra. (See Photo.) It is one of the Bhavachakra painted on the wall of the Hemis monastery. The Bhava-chakra is the "Wheel of Life" and depicts the Sansara or the transmigratory existence. The Wheel is held by a demon or a dragon symbolising "the hideousness of clinging to life". In the centre of the Wheel are the three animals, the cock, the snake and the pig which symbolise the three cardinal sins namely lust, anger and ignorance. The dark half of the circle surrounding them signifies the dark downward path. The light half, the light upward path. The rim of the Bhava-chakra is divided into five sections depicting the gates or the conditions for the existence, left region of man. In the lower half of circle shows the region of hell. Left region is the region of beasts, human misery (birth. old age, sickness, death, ungratified wishes and struggles for existence, misfortune, punishments). The outer circle is divided into 12 sections showing the casual nexus or sequence of events which lead to death or re-birth or whirling on the wheel" as Buddha called. The paintings besides others we find the paintings of Siddhas in the main ante-chamber. During the 16th-17th century the craftsmen and the artists found new concepts to show their individual skill and at Hemis these paintings of at least 84 Siddhas are discernable in the nunnery chapel attached to the main shrine. These paintings are done on the stone panels with incised drawings and colours. These delightful drawings depicting different scenes of the Buddhist philosophy are supposed to have been done under the patronage of Tshewangnamgal Circa 1533-75 A. D. The picture depicts nine painted stones embedded in the wall at Hemis. The Hemis monastery was constructed by Lotchavo Ringzinbov some 370 years back and houses the main image of Great Guru Pekargayapoh who is supposed to have come from Lhasa some 500 years back. This image is still in adoration in the Hemis monastery besides the statue of Namgilchurton, statue of *Grolma,* etc. etc. The stupa which is under worship is very big and is embedded with brass and precious stones. It also contains the Mural paintings of Yamantaka and old Tankhas. The Buddha image is made of brass, the face is gilded in gold and is seated in Padmasana in Earth-touching Mudra. The other chamber contains the biggest Tankha which is approximately 15′ in length and is kept rolled as its turn for exhibition comes after every eleven years. In front of the monastery there are foul wooden Poles called Tarehin. The Parikarma passage is very wide and is called Scollum. In one of the halls at Hemis there is a 10′ octagonal prayer-wheel. Atop the monastery we see ritualistic flags and banners called Garchan and Thuks. A very colourful festival is annually held at Hemis in the month of June and Lamas exhibit different dances in ritualistic objects drawings whereof are enclosed. Among the Mural paintings we find beautiful paintings of (1) the Buddha (2)Nastanchutuk (3) Thakhmar (4) Padamsambav (5) Palkuludamba (6) Thandin (7) Ganbov (8) Ganbovkhur (9) Jampalchidak (10) Khor etc. At Hemis we find a beautiful Crizgha 1.3 metres in diameter (see illustration). The monastery contains 36 wooden pillars which are plain and 100 cms. in girth. The monastery is looked after by 383 Lamas who are working under the acting Head Lama Khamtakringpochi, while he would be Head Lama Dhukparingpoche (eleven years old) is taken care of for the present. The monastery is situated in a picturesque natural surroundings.

VIII. *Spituk Monastery* : It is a small monastery which contains new as well as old gumpa. The monastery possesses, many interesting images besides Tankhas. The following clay images deserve mention : (1) Seated image of Dolma (2) Buddha in earth-touching Mudra (3) Lobavringbochi (4) Lobovringbochi three headed, twelve-handed holding Sakti in his two hands (5) Rigjed etc. This monastery contains very old collection of masks and the walls are also painted with different scenes of Buddhist philosophy. Among the mural paintings the following are important :

1. Chusjal with Chamuda 2. Mahakala 3. Yamantaka 4. Guru Mahakala 5. Chanspa 6. Kali Devi on horse 7. Rakhmutana 8. Namchah etc.

The monastery contains approximately 50 very and old banners. The annual fair of the Spituk monastery is held during the month of January.

IX *Phyong Monastery*: The Phyong monastery is situated 20 k. ms. from Leh on Leh-Srinagar Road. It is situated on a hillock surrounded by the mountains forming a U-type valley. The monastery is supposed to have been built during 755 A. D. by the king of Ladakh Jamyannamgil. The monastery houses a number of bronze images of great antiquarian value. The Buddha (see photo) like most of the standing Buddhas is shown in Abhaya-mudra combining various elements of styles from various sources. The upper garment falling over the torso reminds the Gupta influence of 4th-5th Century A. D. The softy gilded folds are symetrically hanging down from the centre of the chest and spreading out towards the left and right shoulders. The folds on the arms are identical to 3rd-4th century wall paintings at Miran. Besides this image the other images are datable to 8th Century onwards. Among the other images we have a beautiful image of Buddha 29 Cms. high in the Dharam Chakra Mudra. The monastery contains beautiful images (1) Avalokitesvar eleven-headed, eight-armed (2) Aryalokeswara Chinlazanbow (3) Nagarjuna (4) Thantogilpoh (5) Tokdanringpoche (6) Dhurjayehawa. The monastery also contains Mural paintings dating back to the 18th-19th century A. D. The following Gurus executed on these wall paintings deserve special mention :

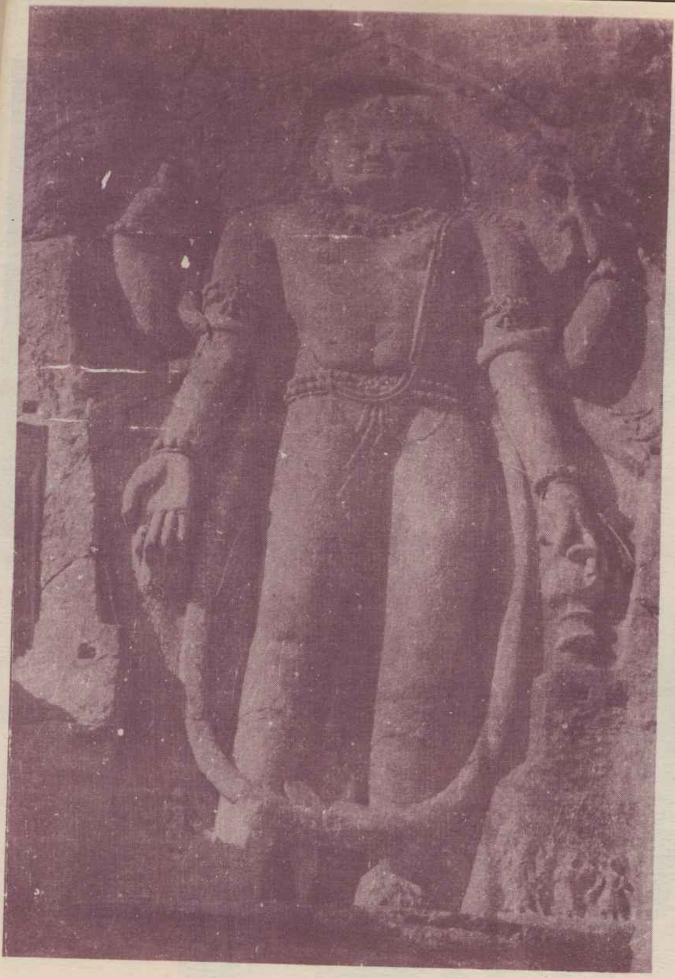
(1) Tanzikkamdo (2) Tsringchirna (3) Ishaykundo (4)Abchi Tamchikundo (6) Wangykundo and (7) Dechok Lama. The monastery also contains some ritualistic objects including the profusely orna-

mented counch called Thong and a wooden Kathvanga locally called Khatamkah. The clay images also decorate the monastery at Phyong. Among other figures we find the following :

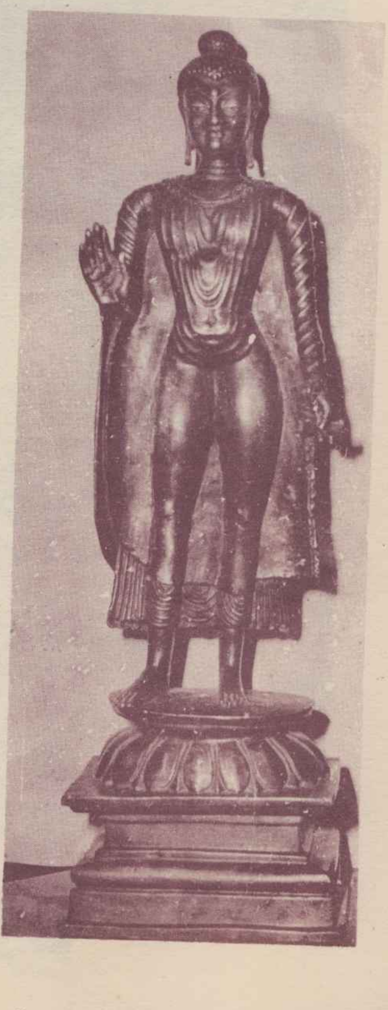
Chubarintoche (2)Rikzinchotak (3) Avalokiteshvara (4) Buddha (5) Nabernongzad (6) Chipakmat (7) Dorjisambha (8) Padmagilchon.

X. *ALCHI MONASTERY :* Alchi monastery is situated at a distance of 75 k. ms. from Leh on Leh-Srinagar Road. It is situated on the other side of the Indus about 5 K. ms. from Saspul. Alchi contains two Gumpas situated adjacent to each other. These were built by the famous Lotsava Rinchen Zangpo who was born in Guge in western Tibet. At the age of 18 he left for Kashmir for studies and spent 15 years outside Ladakh. Besides Kashmir he visited Nalanda and other Buddhist centres for procurement of Buddhist literature, images and artisans. Lotsava brought 35 Kashmiri artists to Leh and employed them in the construction, decorating walls with paintings of which the present Gumpas are a tangible proof. The Gumpas were built early in 11th Century and by seeing these artistic and cultural relics one can visualise the style of wall paintings of Kashmir before that Century. Unfortunately, in Kashmir no wall painting has survived which could reveal the technique of paintings done in Kashmir during 11th Century but Alchi is the place which still preserves the Mural paintings done collectively by various artists including those of Kashmir. The first gumpa is 20′ square with an antechamber resting on the fluted wooden pillars, the lintels and terfoil arches embedded with wooden images of Tara, Gandharvas and other animal motifs. The style of these wooden images is much more like that of Kashmir especially the composition of the crown and the decoration done. The main hall contains three niches rectangular in a shape measuring 7′.8″ x 5′.2″ going straightway right upto the first floor terminating in triangular shaped arches. The first niche on the left side contains a clay image of Avalokitesvara standing four-armed (photo No. 10). In his left upper hand he holds the stalk of the lotus while the right lower hand is held in a Vardha position. The colour of the body is white. The image is provided with armlets, wristlets, ear ornaments. The wreathe is composed of the lotus flowers blue, white and red in colour. The image wears an ornated necklace, a crown studded with two lotuses on either side. The loins-cloth of the image is painted much later than the making of the image itself and is apparently painted on the top of the earlier paintings The Avalokitesvara's lion-cloth (photo 11) reveals a fantastic world of designs depicting wonderfully varied scenes and employing the entire spectrum of brillant colours. Each detail gives a tale of blood-shed, of fights between different armies. It further depicts different scenes from birth to the Nirvana of Buddha. The paintings have been done during 11th Century A.D. and are the earliest paintings on wall in the State. The image measures approximately 20′ in height. The central niche which contains a similar sized clay image of Vajra-Sattva four armed standing on a Padma wearing a loin cloth which is painted and in each circle are depicted different scenes of the Buddha and his enlightenment. The head of the figure can be seen from the first floor. On the either side of the head are flying female Gandharvas four armed. The image on right side is a statute of Manjushri four armed holding a stalk of a blue lotus in its left hand. The loin cloth is again painted with Buddha images and images of Apsaras. The body colour of the image is orange and is wearing the armlets, a necklace and a crown. On two sides of the head are two female Gandharvas. The image stands on a Padma and measures approximately 20′ in height. The walls of the chamber are profusely painted with the paintings on Buddhist theme. Among the paintings decorating the wall of the shrine the painting of a royal camp brings out a prominent influence of Bhagdad school. There is another interesting group of elaborate painting of Maha-Saraswati and Apsara, a devotee evidently done by the sensitive hands of the master craftsmen of Kashmir. These paintings show meticulous designs of flowers and exquisite patterns. It shows a complete expression of Kashmiri school of art. The royal camp (see photo) seems to portray one of the subjects which are seen in the orbit of Bhagdad school. The paintings do not show any trace of plumpness or fullness of the type as is seen in Bengal and Nepal art. The style executed in these paintings has a well-defined preference for elegant, erect yet supple postures in which the measured undulation of the body with a slight upward tilt of the head has replaced the classical Tribhanga. The charming method of drawing the second eye in most of the paintings on walls out of the profile, line of the half turned face is also typical.

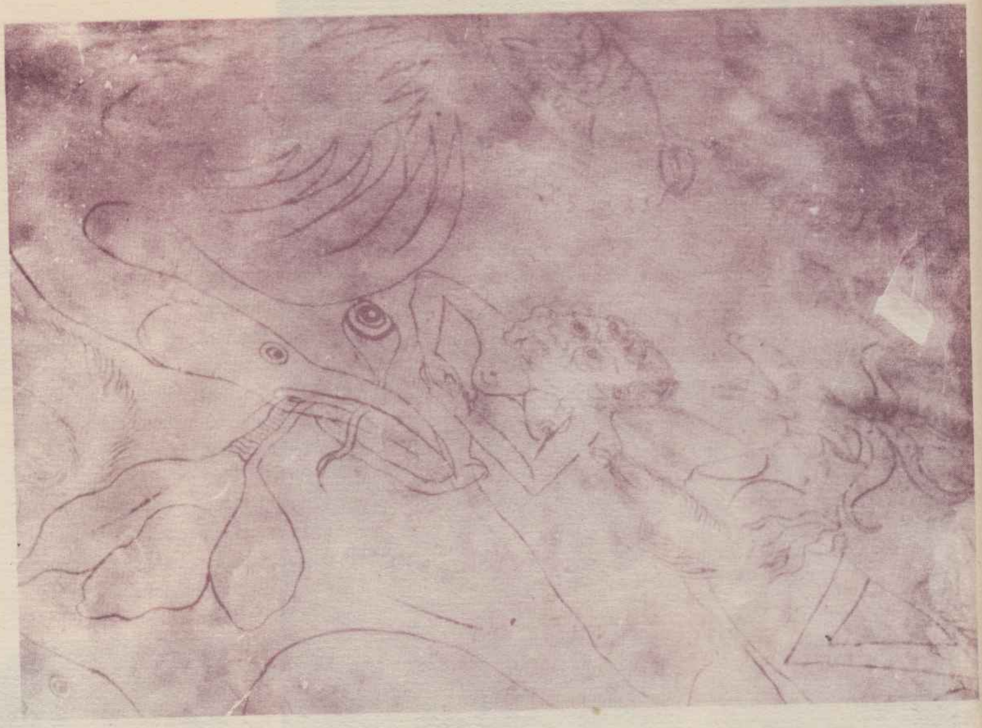
Adjacent to this shrine is another old shrine which is unique in structure as far as its door and altar is concerned. The door of the monastery is approximately 8′ high and 2′.2″ wide. It contains carvings of various images of the Buddha from his birth to Nirvana carved by the sensitive hands of the craftsmen and each image measuring 8 to 12 cms. in height (see photo). There are 55 figures carved out of the blocks used for the main door. In he main hall it contains a niche 11′.5″x8′.5″x12′. It contains an altar which is a colourful monument of post-Lalitaditya Kashmir style. The whole wall is covered with a fantastic wealth of ornamentation. The elaborately painted columns on the right and left of the principal image supports a Makara which is again stylised into tendrils dissolving into mushroom like flowers. The branches are rounded into shapes of medallions and in these arches is exhorbitant scroll work in which are placed dancing Apsaras and Gandharvas playing on their instruments as they merrily point their flutes towards the main image. The whole group is resting on the branches of the tree which comes out from a Kalasha flanked by two female Nagas. The altar is seething with baffling details and yet on the whole has a soothing and balanced rythme. In this shrine their are groups of paintings belonging to different periods. Some of the earliest paintings in the Chapels depict Buddha Saktis and other scenes. The paintings on one of the walls of this shrine depict an invader executed in 16th-17th Century A.D. The paintings done in Alchi literarily grafted a new theme in a new style on to Ladakh's ancient Buddhist tradition.



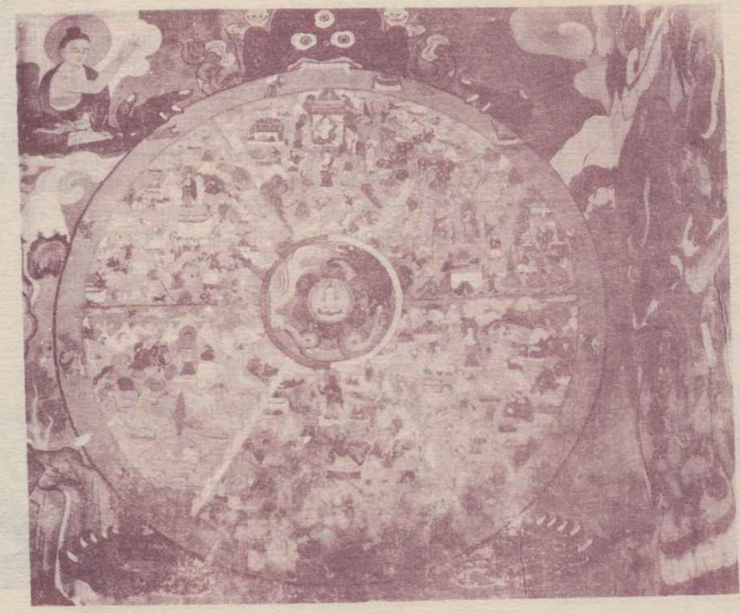
Standing Maitreya (Chamba) four-armed carved in relievo on a monolithic rock—9th/10th century A.D. Mulbeck, LEH. (The image is the biggest in size—40′ in Jammu and Kashmir).



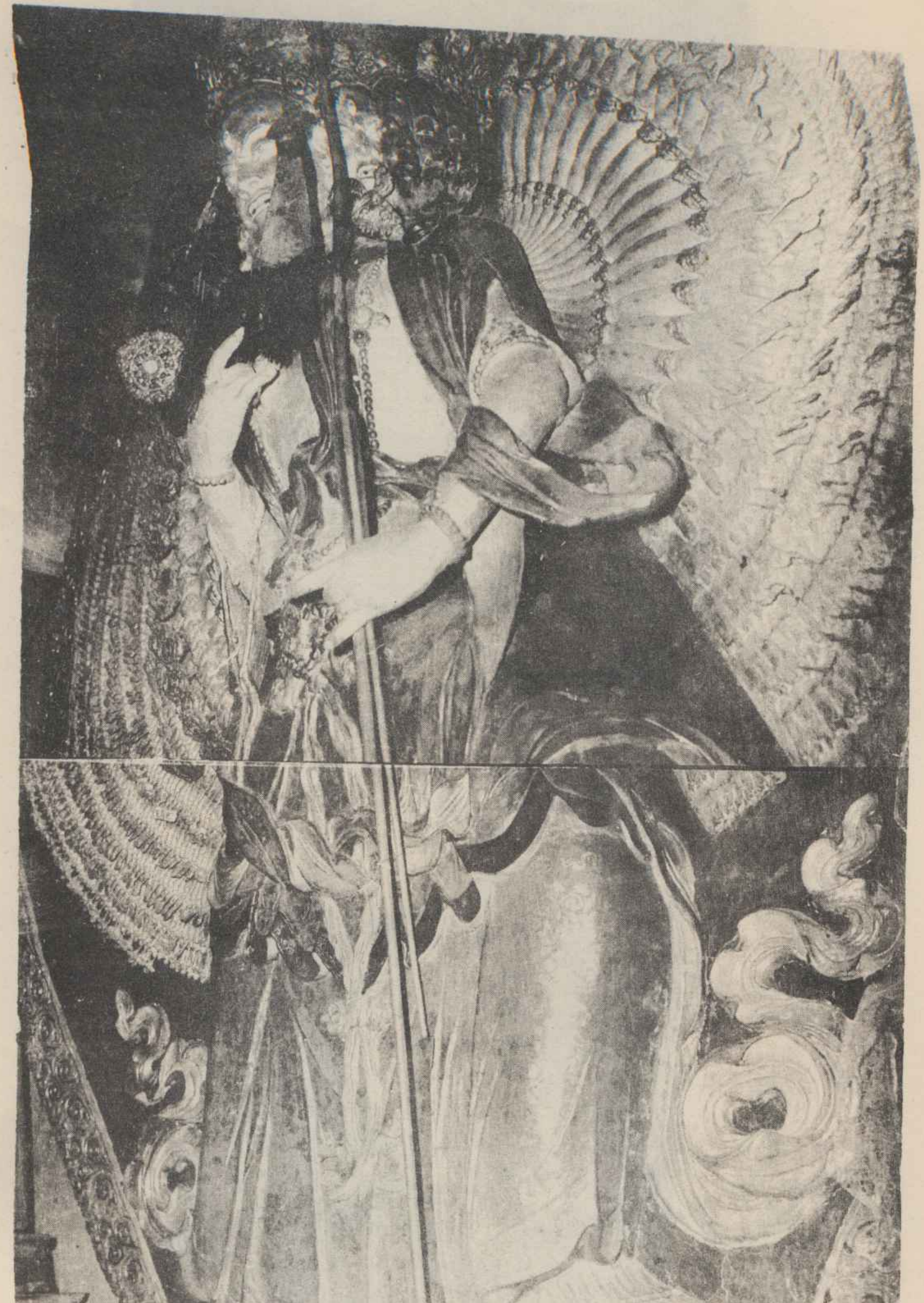
Standing Buddha in Abhya—Mudra-Nalanda type, 5th Century A.D.--Fiang Monastery, LEH.



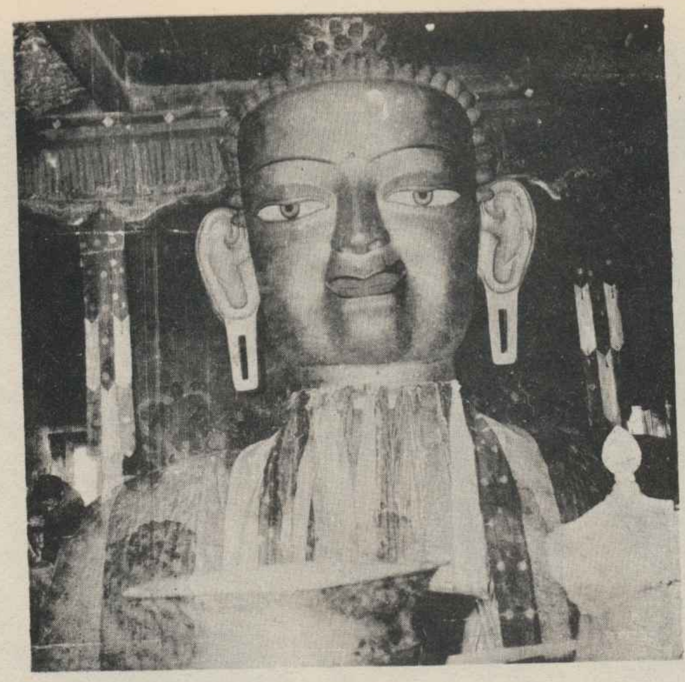
Wheel of Existence (Wall Painting) 15th/16th Century A.D. Thiksy Monastery, Ladakh



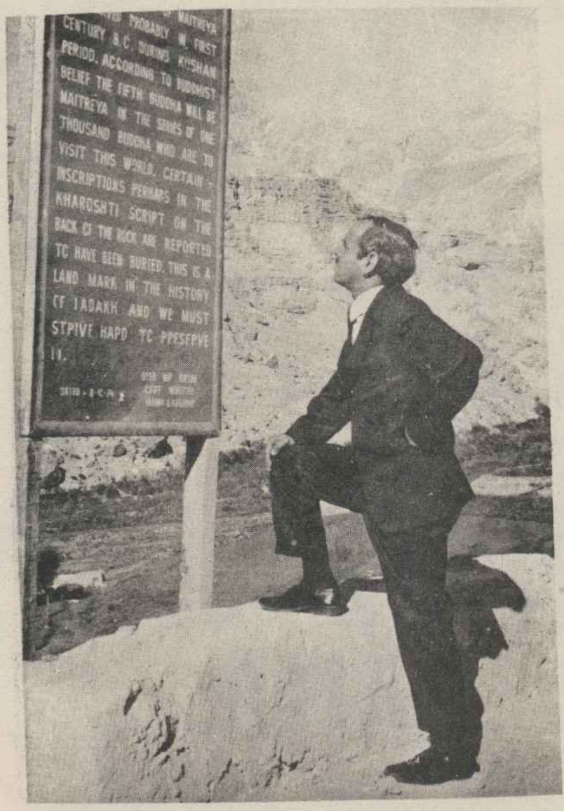
Wheel of Life (BHAVA-CHAKRA) depicting the Transmigratory existence. 18th Century A.D. Hemis Monastery Ladakh.



Avalokiteswara (one thousand heads, one thousand hands and one thousand legs) Clay painted. 15th Century A.D. Shankar Gompa, Leh.



. *Buddha seated,* ***Brass,*** *Gold Gilded 23′ high Shey Monastery, Leh.*


CENTURY B.C. DURING KUSHAN
PERIOD. ACCORDING TO BUDDHIST
BELIEF THE FIFTH BUDDHA WILL BE
MAITREYA IN THE SERIES OF ONE
THOUSAND BUDDHA WHO ARE TO
VISIT THIS WORLD. CERTAIN
INSCRIPTIONS PERHAPS IN THE
KHAROSHTI SCRIPT ON THE
BACK OF THE ROCK ARE REPORTED
TC HAVE BEEN BURIED. THIS IS A
LAND MARK IN THE HISTORY
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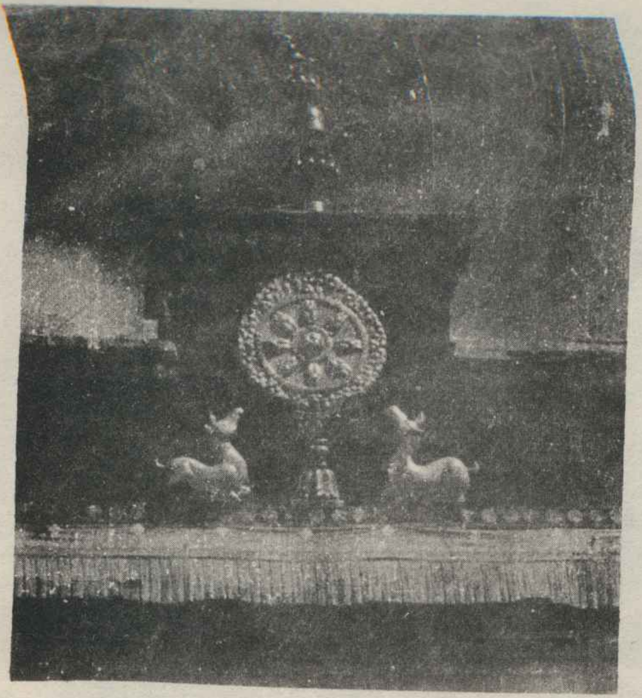
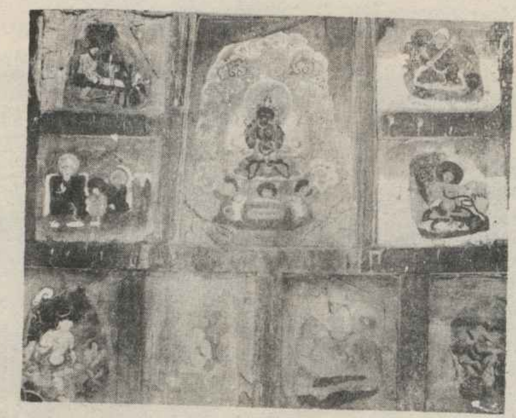
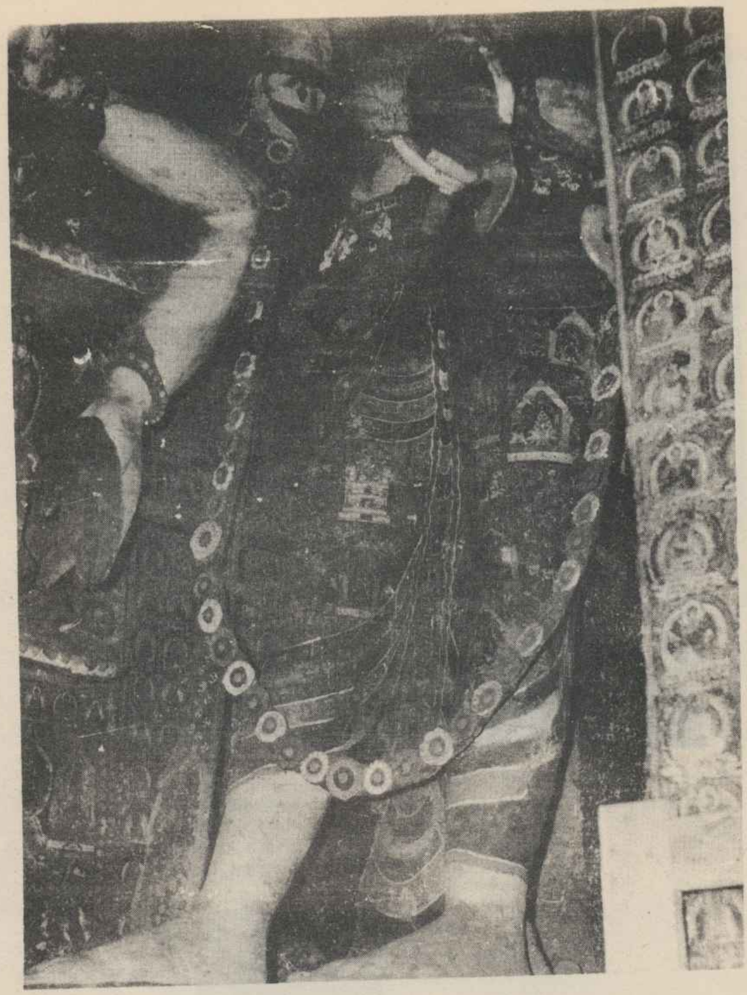
Dr. S. M. Iqbal examining the label of Maitreya Image at Mulbeck.



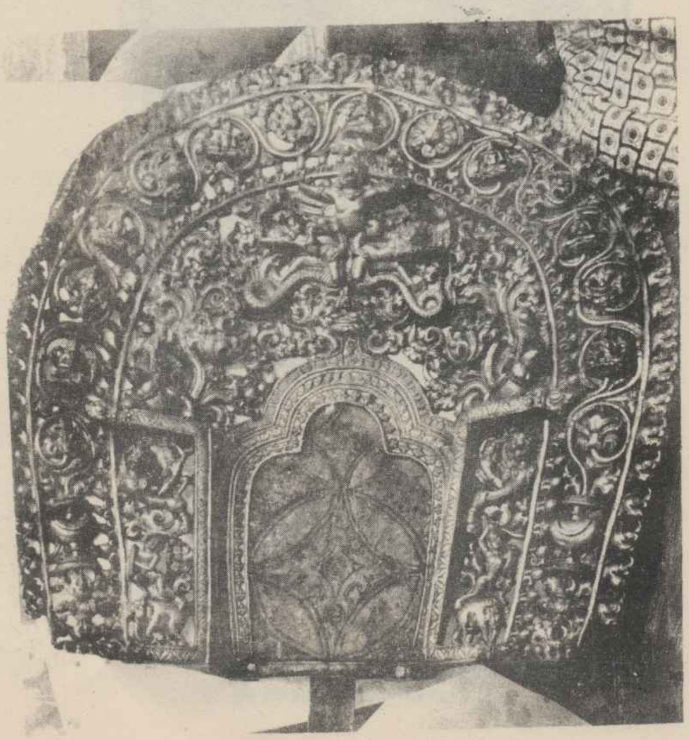
"Wheel of the Law" flanked by a deer on each side signifying the first Sermon of Buddha at Deer Park at Sarnath, decorates the main Gate of Shanker Gompa at Leh.



Paintings of Siddhas etc. stone slabs fitted in the nunnery chapel attached to Hemis Monastery.



Avalokiteswara; four-armed with painted lions cloth. Clay (20′ high)—11th Century A.D. Alchi Ladakh.



Nimbus - depicting seated Buddhas in different mudras in coils of the Lotus stalk 11th/12th Century A. D. Shankar Gompa, Leh

"Now, no such factors exist against the colonization of Kashmir by us or by any other European nation. The climate is all that can be desired, sufficient land exists, which, properly tilled and cultivated, would support any number; while water is good, and distributed abundantly all over the Valley. In fact nothing is left that could be desired to form, by the means of our retired soldiers and others, a miniature England in the heart of Asia—a stronghold in time of war, held and guarded by the loyal sons of Albion, ever willing and ready to shed their own and children's blood in defence of their home, and the other provinces that together form our Imperial dominion in the East".

W. Wakefield

"The actual inhabitants of this country are usually styled Kashmiris, and physically are undoubtedly a fine race, the finest perhaps existing in this part of Asia, the type of the old Aryan race, the stock from whence they have sprung. Tall strong, and stoutly built, the features of the men are large and aquiline, with a wide straight-up, and high forehead, a well-shaped head, and a cast of countenance somewhat like the Afghans-Jewish in character, although there is nothing known that would connect their origin with any of the tribes, lost or otherwise, of that celebrated nation."

W. Wakefield

"The Imam and all the principal merchants accompanied us the first stage to Skarra, and many quitted us only on the third morning when we started for Ling. At Phiang the deputy of the monastery entertained us in the absence of his principal, and sent us a supply of flour and butter for our journey; and on our arrival at Ling, we were met by many persons for whom I had prescribed in my former visit, and who evinced gratitude by bringing supplies of meal, butter, and apples. At Himis I collected a quantity of the seed of the flower or beardless barley, and at various places on my route provided a supply of apple-pipes, apricot kernels, and the seeds of grain, for transmission to India and to England. At Molbi I was appealed to by the wife of the Nuna Khalun, who was absent at Zanskar, on account of the refusal of my carriers to pay certain fees customary at this place. Going to her to discuss the subject, she received me with much graciousness, taking my offered hand between both hers and carrying it to her forehead. A seat was given me, and, at my request, she sat down beside me and entered, with great fluency and animation, upon the subject in dispute. The Cho-cho, as she was called, was rather good-looking, and of juvenile appearance, although the mother of twelve children. She was a complete woman of business, and commanded great influence in the district."

W. Moorcroft

Rare Art Finds in Ladakh Monasteries

R. K. Kak.

Chamba (at a Leh Monastery) is decorated with bracelets and a necklace, and the head is surmounted by a tiara ; the hair is raised in front, but flows down the sides and back in matted tresses. The ears are long, as if elongated by the weight of their heavy ear-rings.

W. Moorcroft

When the Union Health Minister Dr. Karan Singh, visited Ladakh last July, he exhorted people of the frontier region, especially the lamas, to ensure the preservation of their "precious cultural heritage" in the form of ancient manuscripts, statues and other antiques. The Union Minister made the appeal while addressing a large public gathering in the Hemis gompa (monastery) which has the largest number of lamas in Ladakh and is known for its art treasure.

But the Hemis is not the only monastery in the remote Buddhist wonderland which contains manuscripts and exquisite pieces of art. Even the smallest village in the "land of lamas" has its own monastery.

A three-member team of the State Archaeological and Research Department, headed by its Director, Dr. S. M. Iqbal, has conducted a survey of the monasteries to document artifacts, including murals, for research purposes. The survey has led to some rare finds of bronzes and old TANKAS (paintings on cloth).

The monasteries, which are the most conspicuous and picturesque buildings in Ladakh, usually rise at the prow of ridges as proudly as a Greek temple on a promontory. The team which surveyed twelve of the important monasteries, including Spituk, Fiang, Hemis, Shey, Lamayaru, Thiksey, Shankar and Alchi, has returned with a variegated documentation of rare pieces of art. The Ladakhis have been good modellers in clay and workers in metal since ancient times.

In the Alchi monastery, 40 miles from Leh near the bank of the Indus, the team, which included the Registering Officer, Mr. J. L. Bhan, found mural paintings of the time of Lotsava Rinchan-Zangpo, a Ladakhi pupil of Kashmir Buddhists, who flourished in the 10th century A. D.

This Monastery can be distinguished from many other Ladakhi monasteries by the ornamented woodwork which decorates its main gate with different scenes of the life of Lord Buddha. The paintings in the monastery, which have survived because of the dry climatic condition of the area, are regarded as the only remnants of the old Kashmiri style of paintings available in the State.

It appears that after studying Buddhist scriptures in Kashmiri and Nalanda, Lotsava carried some artists from Kashmir to Alchi where he constructed the temple (monastery). According to a Tibetan work, "Padma Bka-bang", the Kashmiri monks first settled at Sanid in Zangskar (Zanskar) where they built the Kanika monastery and when they had finished painting the pictures. Some paint was saved. They, therefore, decided to build another monastery "at Sumda in piling and a third at Alchi."

Dr. S. M. Iqbal has submitted a report on the survey to the State Government in which he is reported to have suggested the formation of a mine-member committee, comprising three Head Lamas, three distinguished local Buddhists and three Government representatives, to examine the condition of the Ladakh monasteries and consider measures to protect the manuscripts and antiques in them. He has also suggested that a comprehensive photographic record of all the images, statutes and tankas should be prepared.

Courtesy: Sunday Standard)
24-10-76

It is the characteristic of a certain blunderer called genius to see things too far in advance.

—Charles Reade

I have more understanding than all my teachers: for thy testimonies are my meditation.

— Old Testament

The proper study of mankind is man.

—POPE

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Names of Western and Eastern Scholars who worked on S.P.S. Museum collections and Research Library manuscripts for Doctoral research, study or teaching (1976)

WESTERN SCHOLARS	Interest in Research etc.
1. **Dr. Walter Spink,** Professor, History of Art, Tapper Halt, University of Michigan, U.S.A.	Sculptures in Stone and bronzes.
2. **Prof. Dr. Oskar V. Hinuber,** University of Mainz, West Germany.	Manuscripts esp. Buddhist (Samghatashastra)
3. **Dr. Huns Klimkeit,** Bonn University, West Germany.	Sculptures and Paintings.
4. **Samuel C. Miller,** Director, The Newyark Museum, United States.	Study of Kashmir sculptures and manuscripts
5 **Rosa Maria Cimino,** Via-Del Parco Mellini 84-Rome.	Ancient sculptures.
6. **Thomas S. Maxwell,** Wolfson College, Oxford University (England).	Sculptures for teachings.
7. **J. H. Deschamps,** Sanolillon, France.	Sculptures.
8. **Sara W. Schastok,** Art Department, University of Michigan, (U.S.A.)	Indian Art.
9. **Sarah B. Sherill,** (Scholar) 69th St. New York N.Y. United States	Mughal carpet Industry.
10. **Dr. R. H. Poelmeijek,** Kekn Institute, Leiden, Holland.	Budolkology and Tibetan Mss.
11. **Dr. R. Gnoli,** Head of Indology Deptt., Rome.	Tantra and Shaiva Mss.

EASTERN SCHOLARS	
1. **Dr. Ratan Parimoo,** Head of Department of Art History and Dean Faculty of Fine Arts, M. S. University, Baroda.	Paintings for teaching.

APPENDIX I (Contd.)

2.	**Prof. F. M. Husnain,** Gogji Bagh, Srinagar.	Kashmiri sculptures in Stone and Bronzes.
3.	**Devendra Lal,** Director Physical Research Laboratory, Ahmadabad.	Solar system (Meteorites).
4.	**Terufumi Akiyama, (of Japan,** Department of Buddhist Studies University of Delhi.	Buddhist Sculptures.
5.	**Mr. Sunil Khosa,** Student, Faculty of Arts, Banaras Hindu University Varanasi-5.	Paintings in Kashmir.
6.	**M. Sharma,** Karan Nagar, Srinagar.	Pahari miniatures and Kashmiri bronzes.
7.	**Dr. Jion Ake,** C/o Kotkuji, Japan.	Tibatan Mss.
8.	**Dr. V. H. Badekar,** Head of Museology Deptt. M. S. University, Baroda.	Sculptures and Ancient Mss.
9.	**Mrs. Bakhshi,** Director, Crafts Museum, New Delhi.	Ancient Paintings etc.
10.	**Sonaullah Khan,** (Research Scholar).	Afghan period (Persian literature).
11.	**Mohd. Sidiq,** (Research Scholar).	Yaqoob Sarfi (Persian literature).
12.	**Miss Zarifa Khanam,** (Research Scholar).	"Tawfiq" (Persian literature).
13.	**Mohd. Amin,** (Research Scholar).	Khwaja Habibullah Nowshehri "Hubbi" Kashmiri (Persian literature).
14.	**G. A. Mir,** Rtd. Under Secretary, (Magam, Kashmir).	Saif-ud-Din Papers (Gulab Singh) Dogra Period.
15.	**Shri Kanth Koul,** Nishatbagh, Srinagar.	Jonaraja.
16.	**Dr. Mohd. Ishaq,** Deptt. of History, K. U.	Dogra Period Cultural and Social
17.	**R. M. Vasudeva,** (Professor) Simla University.	Jonaraja.
18.	**Mr. Z. L. Jala,** Deptt. of History, K. U.	Dogra Period. (Political)
19.	**Sukh Dev Singh Charak,** Jammu University.	Dogra Period.

APPENDIX II

WELCOME ADDRESS

By

Dr. SHEIKH MOHD. IQBAL

12-7-1976

Hon'ble Minister of State for Education
and
Most esteemed friends :

It is really an occasion of joy to be here together and participate in a function which symbolizes sincere, and perseverant effort in the field of native research. We welcome you and the scholars and savants to this function which is being celebrated for the first time in a score of years.

Knowledge of things, events and cultures is the fundamental necessity of all the groups of humanity. Each country and community has its roots in the distant and recent past. It is usually a vital mission to rediscover the glories of an ancient people. The distinguished contributors of the Research Biannual have more or less impartially told the portion of the story of the generations that lived in the State of Jammu and Kashmir until the beginning of modern period. Some of them have treated with the ideological and philosophical aspects of Buddhism and Hinduism. Still others have taken up historical personalities, events, developments and cultural influences which have collectively moulded our colourful history. The editor himself has chosen to write on the advent of Islam which makes an interesting and absorbing chapter in the annals of Kashmir. The pictorial section of the Biannual is meant to highlight the forgotten ingredients of the story of the State's cultural, religious and socio-political evolution.

Reading and writing through research, survey and investigation, is a profession for which silence, freedom and congenial atmosphere, are unavoidable requisites. Positive results in research can be expected only if indiscriminate patronage is extended to those who are engaged in the projects of publication under the auspices of this Directorate. Research can be highly productive when there is no ban on amenities, resources and encouragements. Viewing the publication of this Biannual, we are reminded of the difficulties we have had to encounter, the deficiencies in material and tools, and the absence of attitude among many of our contemporaries.

It is an opportune moment to recapitulate the performances of the Directorate since July 1975. In the year that has gone by, we were able to accomplish things that combine to make a landmark in otherwise the chequered history of this neglected Department. Efforts were made to free each of its wings from the rank growth because of which the disease in their organisation was tending to become endemic. We banished the quarrels and the confusion from within only to fulfil the great objective that we have in view. However, indiscipline can repeat itself if the proposals of the departmental head are not responded to.

We have been working with devotion on various other planes. Choicest publications were obtained for their distribution to the libraries. Books of everlasting value were also purchased for the Museum and Dogra Art Gallery.

More libraries and lending depots in the far-flung areas of the State were opened and their services made prompt through strict supervision. Many more libraries will be started as soon as rooms for them are available.

The archaeological wing was brought to life, new sites indicated or discovered and surveys conducted. Only recently, we have been on an exhaustive tour of Ladakh region to conduct a fruitful survey of the monasteries and their artifacts and wall-paintings.

The Directorate has been charged with the additional yet relevant duty of registering antiquities. We are busy contacting owners and making them understand the value of their possessions. In this important task we need their voluntary co-operation.

Administrative inspections were conducted to ensure proper and efficient working of the libraries and lending depots. The tone of administration in the Directorate has been improved and the forces of discipline are being strengthened. This has certainly enhanced its prestige.

The daily output of the photographers, the Micro-Film expert and the binders is increasing. The progress of the copyists is being checked periodically. A number of works can be sent to the press at any time provided that we are provided grants.

A number of committees were formed to prevent commission of any irregularities. The verification and stock-checking of the Dogra Art Gallery and the Museum at Srinagar has been completed with the co-operation of the officers of the Department.

The revenue of the Directorate has increased owing to the promotion of sales of its publications.

Improvement in the service standards of the employees is being achieved through deputing them for trainings in the State Universities.

Finally, it is a matter of pride that foreign scholars and experts of outstanding merit and needy researchers have been frequenting the Museum and the Research Library. We have been providing them every facility to make their projects a success.

These achievements are not considerable in our view. We are confident that this Directorate can reopen the old gates to glory and greatness provided that nothing is done to loosen the links of its inter-connected wings. Productive indigenous research seems to us impossible without libraries and the treasure of manuscripts. Similarly, a museum cannot be enriched without a rich Research Library attached to it. History can be re-established only when all the wings of this Directorate are permitted to prosper together. These must be headed by a qualified man and one possessing dedication and imagination and free from the malady of ostentation. As a cementing force, he alone can make the system a success albeit with the blessings of the Government and co-operation of his capable officers and employees.

We expect that the fortunes of this Directorate will be restored when it is re-organised in accordance with the recommendations of the Randhawa Committee which has already met twice.

We have often submitted that this Directorate has its problems. The Government should be sympathetic to our proposals. We have no rooms for public libraries and offices. A master plan for raising library buildings must be initiated. We have no money for publications and for the purchase of manuscripts. We have no vehicles and no conveyance to intensify departmental activity. In short, we lack things that go to make a Directorate.

While making these submissions to you, I am sure, you will get us the missing factor of co-operation from the secretarial agencies of the State administration and much-needed and much-deserved partronage from above.

In the end, I thank all the dignitaries and distinguished friends who have taken the trouble of joining us this evening.

I should request you now to release the Research Biannual, the distribution of which has been so much desired by the interested quarters. And before we present the copies of the publication to the esteemed audience, it would be heartening to hear from you a few words of encouragement.

APPENDIX III

VOTE OF THANKS BY DR. S. M. IQBAL
AT THE
INAUGURAL SESSION OF
23rd. CONFERENCE OF I. L. A. AT THE TAGORE HALL, SRINAGAR
6 OCTOBER, 1976.

It is for me an occasion of joy to thank your Excellency the Governor, Hon'ble Chief Justice, Hon'ble Chief Minister and my old Aligarian friend, Kochak Saheb. I am also indebted to the esteemed invitees who have taken the trouble of attending this function. It would have been very difficult to start the Conference without your blessings. Amidst your multifarious duties and heavy schedule, your setting apart a couple of hours for inaugurating, presiding and addressing the present distinguished gathering, is no doubt a great favour to the Association. The precious ideas you have just expressed, have heartened the delegates.

I thank all the delegates, and in particular the President of the Association, Mr. D. R. Kalia for having given us an opportunity to serve the universal cause of Library Movement. Personally, it was a challenge to me to accept the Convenership of this Conference at a very crucial time. Quite dexterously and in an intelligent manner did Mr. Kalia, pass on the baby to me and I could not but undertake the mission.

The enlightening addresses of the dignitaries have hardly left anything for me to speak. I must, however, make a few submissions to the delegates :

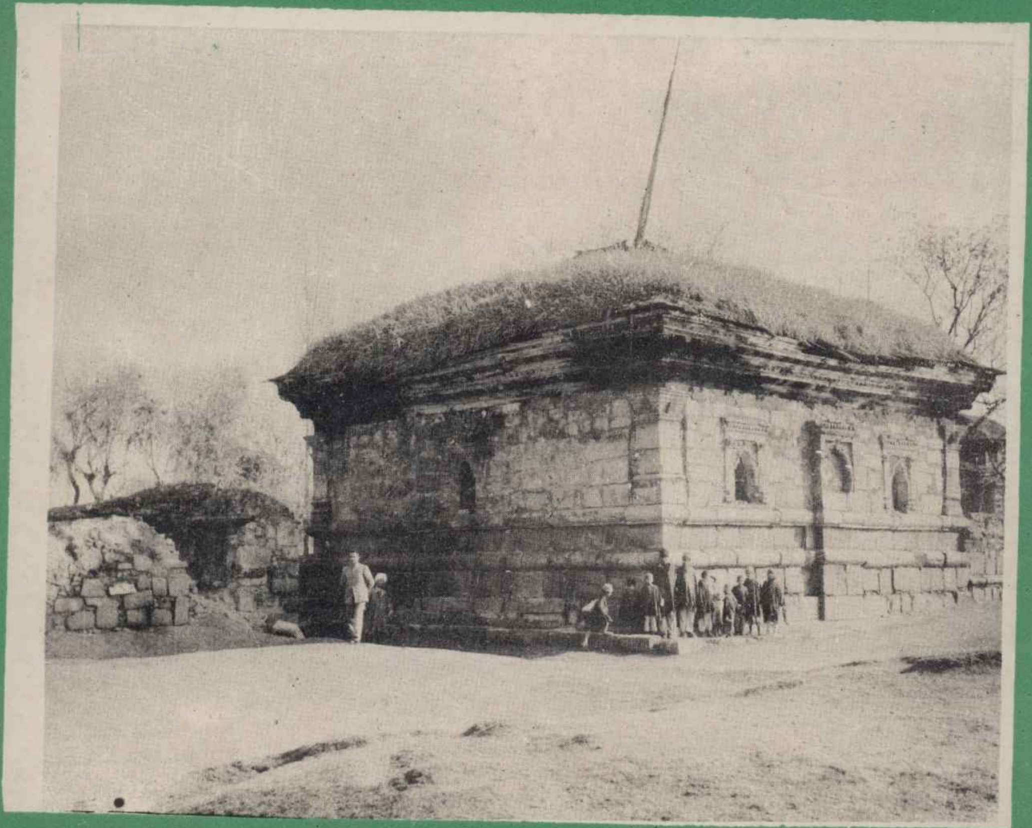
Firstly, your problems arise from the needs of the Libraries, be they institutional, public or specialised libraries. There are the problems of selection of books, provision for the purchase of published material, obtaining of the most modern media of information, accommodation for the collections, staff and the scholars, cataloguing and classification and a host of other issues concerning library management.

Secondly, you have to consider the ways of serving the mass of readers and researchers to the best of your ability. The library movement can make a good advance only with the help of the imagination of the leaders and the dedication of the librarians. That is by immaculate planning of the authorities and your polite attitude can the aptitude for reading and research increase. Your Libraries should be the beehives of learning. May I suggest that the fiction you distribute should carry with it moral values and spiritual benediction. The libraries should also serve as a revitalising force.

This being said, the anxiety of those who wish to see the library movement prosperous, remains. In the East, we do have some examples of the donors who surrendered their valuable collections for the good of all. But we have yet to see another Andrew Carnegie who donated not less than six million dollars for building and maintaining of the libraries in Great Britain and America. Having sold his interests to Morgan Company, Carnegie's contemporaries would see the old man in his new mansion in New York "busily engaged in dispensing $325,000,000 for the improvement of mankind". On the side of library service, one might come across few names who worked with unceasing zeal for reorganising their libraries. We would be very fortunate to have librarians of the stature of Sir Anthony Panizzi of the British Museum Library and Herbert Putnam of the Library of Congress both of whom revolutionised library administration and contributed to literature on library collections. Their ideas about library service are still predominant.

I fervently hope that you will passionately devote your hours of deliberation to making library movement popular and library service effective.

I thank all of you once again and pray for your complete success.



The Mosque of ***Sayyid Muhammad Al-Madani*** *at Madin Sahib near Hawal, Srinagar, was built in 848 A.H./1444 A.D. in the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. Among unique features of the mosque are the Exquisite painting work on its ceiling of khatamband and columns. The main door is of 8 inches thick wood, elaborately carved by the perseverant carpenters of Kashmir. On the left is visible the excellent Hamam now lying in ruins. To the south of the mosque is the mausoleum of Sayyid Muhammad Al-Madani of which the entrance is bedecked with coloured tiles—which are the earliest of their kind in South Asia. On 10 May, 1976, Dr. Sheikh Mohd. Iqbal, the Director, submitted his recommendations to the Government for the renovation of the mosque and upkeep of the mausoleum, The site is historically and architecturally so important that* it must take precedence over all other monuments in the Valley.